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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research

Volume XLIV, Number 4, Winter 1998

Julia Ellis **347** From the Editor

Articles

John A. Ross, Lynne Hannay, Bruce Brydges **349** District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform

Carolyn M. Shields, Linda J. LaRocque **366** Year-Round Schooling: A Catalyst for Pedagogical Change

Tracey M. Derwing, Kama Jamieson, Murray J. Munro **383** Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years

Roy Graham, Jon Young **397** Curriculum, Identity, and Experience in Multicultural Teacher Education

Jane My Duc Tram, Connie K. Varnhagen **408** Questions in a Research Setting

Research Notes

416 Guidelines

Deborah Court, Libby Cohen, Orly Michael, India Broyles, Loraine Spenciner **417** Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits

Margaret Macintyre Latta **421** In Search of Aesthetic Learning Spaces

Book Reviews

Alan G. Ryan **425** *Procedures of Power and Curriculum Change: Foucault and the Quest for Possibilities in Science Education* by David W. Blades

Heather Blair **428** *Systemic Violence in Education: Promise Broken* edited by Juanita Epp and Ailsa Watkinson

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Provide an abstract of approximately 100 words on a separate sheet.

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Enclose quotes of 40 or fewer words in double quotation marks in the text; indent quotes longer than 40 words in block format. Page numbers must be given.
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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XLIV, No. 4, Winter 1998, 347-348*

From the Editor

The *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* (**ajer**) has a lengthy tradition as an eclectic, scholarly journal publishing reports on systematic inquiry into education for a national and international audience. As the new editor of **ajer** I wish to continue the excellent work of my predecessor, Beth Young, in seeking to extend **ajer**'s readership and the range of pertinent scholarly research and enquiry that is reported in this journal.

Continuing in the tradition of previous editors, I encourage the submission of manuscripts on many subjects in an effort to make **ajer**'s coverage of research in education as wide-ranging as possible. Each year the journal will continue to sponsor one issue dedicated to a topical theme in education.

In March 1996 Beth Young introduced **ajer** *Research Notes* as a new section for the journal. This section has provided a means for educational researchers to communicate with one another about their research-in-progress. Because **ajer** is so widely indexed nationally and internationally, it is effective in supporting such exchanges. The *Research Notes* have also been a useful means for reporting on smaller research projects that have one or two findings of particular interest but do not warrant full-article treatment. I encourage more active use of the *Research Notes* option. Guidelines are provided at the beginning of the section.

During the two years ahead I look forward to strengthening the *Book Reviews* section of **ajer**. To this end I am grateful and pleased to welcome Hans Smits as the newly appointed Book Review Editor for **ajer**. After three years at the University of Regina, Hans Smits has moved to the Faculty of Education at the University of Calgary to work in the area of social studies education and to continue his work in the areas of action research and hermeneutics as applied to education. Books submitted for review should continue to be sent to the **ajer** office at the University of Alberta. Once review requests are documented the books are forwarded to Hans Smits.

Another one of our goals is to increase subscriptions to **ajer**. The journal competes for funding support, and its subscription levels are an important factor in such applications. An order form for subscriptions and/or individual issues of particular interest is included in each issue as well as on our website at http://www.education.ualberta.ca/educ/journals/ajer:html.

I am also pleased to anticipate a special issue of **ajer** entitled "Measurement and Evaluation: Current and Future Research Directions for the New Millennium," scheduled for Volume XLV, Number 4, the last issue in 1999. The issue will contain papers presented by leading scholars from across Canada who shared and discussed their research in cognition and assessment, psychometric modeling, test score validity, standard setting, computerized testing, and classroom and large-scale assessments at the Banff Conference held in the fall of 1998. Both recently completed research and research-in-progress were discussed and critiqued with a view to establishing a research agenda for the next century. The guest editor for the issue will be Todd Rogers (University of Alberta).

During my first months as editor of **ajer** I have had the benefit of the prior work and current support of many people. My predecessor Beth Young and **ajer**'s Editorial Assistant Edie Peters developed a number of systems and structures for keeping **ajer**'s work on track. Beth was also generous with her time and in sharing helpful information and advice during our transition period. Edie Peters is an invaluable daily partner in **ajer** work. George Buck, the Associate Editor, has been wonderful to work with in his responsibilities for issues related to computer technology (including our website) and copyright. Joyce Hiller, Administrator for the journal, and Grace Malicky, Associate Dean of Research and Graduate Studies have been a welcome source of support. Consulting editors (named on the masthead) and reviewers (to be listed for all of 1998 in our next issue) have been unfailingly helpful and supportive. I have felt fortunate often to find reviewers who were in fact interested in completing the reviews and whose written responses were welcomed as helpful and useful by authors. It has been a privilege to witness and participate in a genuine community of scholars, taking interest in and supporting each other's work in constructive ways. Most of all I wish to thank all who have submitted manuscripts to **ajer**. I have already had many comments from reviewers expressing appreciation for the quality of manuscripts sent to them for review.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XLIV, No. 4, Winter 1998, 349-365*

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District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform

Previous studies of secondary school reform have not given as much attention to the role of the district as is warranted by its potential influence on change processes. This study examined the role of district-level factors in enabling eight secondary schools to restructure their positions of added responsibility. After two years there was significant change on five of six indicators of organizational health. The district-level factors that contributed to the change were the actions of a central steering committee (consisting of administrators, union representatives, and support staff), an emerging image of professionalism in the teacher union, district history, individual personalities, and a shared sense that the district was unique in its region. The findings differed from the results of previous research in that leadership was more broadly distributed, a combined industrial-professional conception of teacher unionism contributed to innovation, and a strong and continuous central presence was required to support a decentralized change model.

Les études antérieures sur la réforme de l'école secondaire n'ont pas accordé assez d'importance au rôle du district malgré son influence potentielle sur le processus de changement. Cette étude a analysé le rôle de facteurs au niveau du district dans l'habilitation de huit écoles secondaires à restructurer leurs positions en situation de responsabilité accrue. Deux ans après le début de l'étude, on a noté des changements significatifs sur cinq des six indicateurs de bonne gestion organisationnelle. Les facteurs au niveau du district qui ont contribué au changement étaient les suivants: les démarches d'un comité d'organisation central (y siégeaient administrateurs, représentants syndicaux et personnel de soutien), l'émergence d'une image de professionnalisme dans le syndicat des enseignants et une vision partagée de la spécificité du district dans la région. Les résultats divergent de ceux des études antérieures sous trois aspects: le leadership était plus réparti; une attitude vis-à-vis du syndicalisme des enseignants qui liait des conceptions industrielles et professionnelles a contribué à l'innovation; et le modèle décentralisé de changement nécessitait une présence centrale et continue.

Constant change has not been part of the self-image of secondary schools (Hannay, 1995). In Cooley's (1997) aphorism, "all this talk about waves and

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Bruce Brydges is a resource teacher and evaluator at the school board in which the research reported in this article was conducted.

waves of reform really refers to trends in the reform literature, not changes that are actually taking place in schools" (p. 18). A recent call for papers about replacements for traditional secondary schools generated few reports of models in place and many accounts of why secondary school change is so difficult (Raywid, 1997). Even successful exemplars decay, for example, when key personalities leave (Brouillette, 1997). In this article we describe a school district where leaders attempted to energize its eight secondary schools by giving teachers and principals the mandate and resources to restructure on the basis of criteria they determined themselves. After summarizing evidence that change occurred in the district, we identify some of the district-level factors contributing to reform.

Literature Review

Taxonomy of Approaches to School Reform: Perspective of the Study

Reformers share a common end. The goal is to improve the breadth and depth of student achievement so that all students (not just the university-bound) develop deep understanding (not just recitational knowledge) of fundamental concepts, principles, and habits of mind. But reformers differ on the means. Perspectives vary on three dimensions.

One dimension distinguishing reform approaches concerns the role of subject departments. Teaching-for-understanding proponents argue that improvement comes by strengthening teacher capacities in strong departments. For example, Kennedy (1998) sees the tasks of reform as the clarification of subject-based standards, creation of teachers' disciplinary knowledge (central ideas and the relationships among them), development of pedagogical content knowledge (the ability to represent complex concepts in understandable ways), and enhancement of attitudes to the subject (e.g., valuing the norms for creating knowledge in the discipline). In contrast, other reformers see departmental structures as inimical to teacher growth. Departments are said to create cleavages among teachers, imprison student learning in disciplinary cells, limit curricular options and the transfer of teaching ideas, and constrain the development of school vision (Hargreaves, 1994; McLauglin & Talbert, 1990; Siskin, 1994).

The second dimension distinguishes centralizers from decentralizers. Centralizers emphasize coordinated efforts to improve preservice training, career induction, certification of teachers on the basis of research-based behaviors, and integrated professional development (Darling-Hammond, 1998). Decentralizers advocate site-based management in which liberation from bureaucratic control enables autonomous schools to define their vision, recruit teachers, manage their resources, and take responsibility for the performance of staff and students (Ogawa, 1994).

The third dimension concerns conception of change. Change theorists focus on the nature of specific innovations and the role of change agents in adoption, implementation, and diffusion (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). Organizational learning theorists argue that the ability of individuals to learn new behaviors accumulates into a capacity of the organization to respond to changes in its environment, a capacity that is greater than the sum of its parts (Cohen & Sproull, 1995). Fullan (1997b) defined a position between the poles in which a

focus on change processes is embedded in a learning organization perspective. Fullan (1997a) argued that systemic reform involves an integrated set of changes in structures, cultures, and the use of time. When successful it creates a professional community that builds professional skills while supporting individual teachers' efforts to cope with change.

The perspective on secondary school reform taken in this study emphasizes the search for alternatives to departmental structures, decentralizing forces, and embeds change theory in an organizational learning perspective. Our focus in this article is on district-level factors contributing to reform.

Previous Research on District Level Factors Influencing School Reform

Previous accounts of secondary school change emphasized the role of national/provincial reform agencies (Knapp, 1997), networks of schools (Wasley, 1994), or individual schools (Johnson & Pajares, 1996). District-level factors have been included on the periphery in this research, but only rarely has the district been the main focus of the inquiry.

Studies of site-based reform suggest that most schools lack the capacity to reform on their own (Walberg & Niemiec, 1994). Yet Knapp (1997) found that schools in "ripe" districts responded more quickly to reform opportunities and Louis and Miles (1990) found that reform was more likely to occur when the district and school worked together in a dynamic, ongoing negotiation of the change process.

The district superintendent has been cited as the critical district variable (Prestine & Bowen, 1993). The problem in relying on the superintendent as the key agent of change is that superintendents spend little time on teaching and learning issues (Blumberg, 1985; Cuban, 1988). Those who do focus on curriculum can exercise a profound influence on schools, but they need to be skillful change agents, in place for an extended period (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). Superintendents may stimulate and support school change through interaction with principals. Their impact on teachers is typically indirect. The mechanisms of superintendent influence include involving principals in district goal-setting, frequent communication on instructional issues, and feedback on school growth plans that link school activities to district priorities (Hopkins, Ainscow, & West, 1994; LaRoque & Coleman, 1989; Rosenholtz, 1989). Other superintendent strategies associated with site-based reform include capacity-building activities such as the provision of funds for between-school visitations and the creation of a competitive pool of resources for school improvement projects (Darling-Hammond, 1995). Policy-making may not be sufficient to mandate reform, but there is ample evidence that district policies can frustrate it. For example, district standardized testing programs have been found to inhibit teacher movement toward authentic assessment and teaching for understanding (Grossman & Stodolsky, 1994).

In addition to administrator interventions, other district characteristics may contribute to reform. The most powerful of these is district history: the extent to which teachers have experienced previous change efforts as a positive force enabling them to increase their professional efficacy. For example, professional development schools are more likely to be established in districts with a history of site-based management, a record of innovation through a national network

of schools, or prior establishment of a professional development academy for district teachers (Grossman, 1994; Miller & Silvernail, 1994; Whitford, 1994). Huberman (1995) also cited district history, although he focused on individual teachers and drew different conclusions about the history's impact. He found that the prime determinant of an optimal career path for secondary school teachers (leading to experimentation and serenity rather than reassessment and conservatism) was the avoidance of major implementation efforts sweeping their districts in favor of individualized tinkering.

History interacts with leadership. Superintendents with a commitment to building district capacity are more likely to leave a history of innovation that provides a foundation for a district that is moving forward, detects new student and community needs, mobilizes resources to respond to them, and appraises the outcomes of new initiatives. However, leadership in a district can be exercised at more than one level. For example, Heller and Firestone (1995) found that much of the leadership for change was provided by teachers in schools.

Teacher leadership can be exercised in many ways. Of particular interest as our study unfolded was the involvement of union officials. Previous research has typically portrayed teachers' unions as an impediment to change. For example, Snyder (1994) found that attempts to introduce an internship program were hampered by union demands that interns be paid almost as much as first-year teachers, a move that rendered the innovation too costly to be implemented in many sites. But some unions combine concern for bread-and-butter issues (such as salaries and benefits) with a push toward professional issues (such as curricular changes, Bascia, in press). Professional unionism emphasizes the collective aspect of work in schools, blurs distinctions between workers and management, and flattens hierarchies (Kerchner & Caufman, 1995). Bargaining is organized around the need for improvements in schools, with contract negotiations including curriculum issues with economic items. Professional unionism emphasizes protection of the teaching profession over the defense of individual teachers and integrates self-interest and public interest in internal quality control processes (such as peer review). Few districts have enacted this conception of professional unionism, and the results in terms of teacher commitment and curriculum renewal have been mixed (Bascia, 1994). District union locals are influenced by the beliefs and actions of their national (and in the present case, provincial) leaders. For example, at the time of our study Ontario union leaders were considering bringing curriculum issues (such as destreaming/untracking) to the bargaining table (Martell, 1995).

In summary, although few studies have investigated district-level influences on school change, several factors (the role of the superintendent, district history, and conceptions of unionism) have been identified as possible contributors.

Research Question

Given the scarcity of studies of secondary school reform, we undertook a longitudinal case study of a district that adopted a site-based approach to change. Few district-level prescriptions constrained what schools could do. We previously reported between-school differences in response to reform opportu-

nities after one year (Hannay & Ross, 1997). The main research question guiding the research reported in this article was "What district-level factors contributed to secondary school renewal?" We wanted to understand why this district was able to devolve power to schools, an approach to reform not taken by any of the districts that surrounded it. In answering this question we focused particularly on the actions of key actors, especially senior administrators and union officials, and we were attuned to the potential impact of past experiences with change on contemporary reforms in the district. Before addressing this question we summarize quantitative evidence about the impact of reform efforts after two years to substantiate our claim that these schools were changing.

Method

Our research was conducted in eight secondary schools with 500 teachers in a central Ontario district. A ninth school, a secure facility operated on behalf of the Ministry of Corrections, was excluded, as were the elementary schools in the district. The district stretches for 850 square miles, encompassing small cities, towns and countryside, with no distinct center. Student populations were growing in the west, stable in the east. The district enrolls few nonwhites, although students came from a spectrum of economic backgrounds.

In September 1994 district officials agreed to maintain the resources allocated to positions of responsibility (department heads and assistant heads), despite other budget cutbacks.[1] Each school was encouraged to exercise its discretion in reallocating release time and administrative stipends previously assigned to department headships. School Restructuring Committees, each headed by two teachers, developed a school plan for implementation in September 1995.[2] In March 1995 we were invited to collect formative data about the schools' use of their reform mandate and to provide inservice on change strategies.

We conducted a case study of the district using an interpretive research design in which we investigated the actions of participants from the perspectives of the actors (Erickson, 1986). We built the credibility of our interpretations around qualitative research principles such as prolonged engagement in the site, persistent observation, constant comparison, progressive subjectivity, and member checks (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1990; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). A central component of our method was triangulation among data sources and investigators.

We were also participants in the change process. Our main contribution was to promote a culture of inquiry. We did this by feeding back to the schools quantitative and qualitative data (described below) about processes in the district and in individual schools. In addition to providing data summaries and our interpretation of them, we also modeled how co-chairs of school planning committees could help their staffs construct their own interpretations of the data. We provided inservice on action research strategies, supported teacher inquiries, and enlisted several district staff in research apprenticeships. We advised school and district planners on findings from research studies of secondary school change and delivered inservice sessions on instructional

improvement issues such as methods for implementing curriculum integration.

Sources of Data

Main qualitative data. Evidence about district-level influences came from two sources. The most important source was individual interviews with eight members of the Steering Committee: two supervisory officers (equivalent to assistant superintendent), three union leaders, one secondary principal (who chaired the district's Secondary School Principals' Association), and two district support staff. We also interviewed the director of education (CEO, equivalent to superintendent). Before the interview, participants completed a self-administered questionnaire by rating (on a 1-10 scale) the extent to which the Steering Committee fulfilled eight leadership-for-change functions (adapted from Firestone, 1989). They rated their personal contribution to each function. Some wrote in additional functions. Each informant was interviewed for 45-60 minutes in November 1995. The interview was opened by asking for details about the three leadership functions given highest ranking in the survey. Subsequent questions probed rationales for site-based decision-making and teacher leadership, the extent to which new conceptions of unionism had emerged in the district, and facilitators and obstacles to project progress. Interviews were transcribed and entered into ATLAS/ti, a qualitative data analysis software program (Muhr, 1995). The coding scheme was developed from the data through analytic induction. The final version provided codes for leadership functions, history, personalities, rationales for features of the project, the new teacher unionism, facilitators, obstacles, and project outcomes.

Additional data were obtained from focus group interviews with the restructuring committees in each of the eight schools. Each of the focus groups averaged five teachers, equally divided between members of the 1994 (preimplementation) and 1995 (first-year) committees. The 60-minute sessions (in November-December 1995) probed successes and obstacles, explanations for events, personal meanings attached to committee membership, and linkages between restructuring and reculturing, while providing opportunities for each group to pursue its own agenda. Audiotapes were used to create detailed session notes that included selected verbatim quotations and interpretive notes generated immediately after each taping.

Additional qualitative data used for triangulation. Each of the findings from the two sets of qualitative data collected in late 1995 was tested against other qualitative data collected in 1996 and 1997: interviews with teachers appointed to new positions of added responsibility (N=35-37 depending on the year), principals (N=8), co-chairs of school restructuring committees (N=16), and field notes created during inservice sessions and meetings with members of the central Steering Committee, school restructuring committees, and Principals' Association. None of these additional qualitative data is cited directly in this article.

Quantitative data embedded within our qualitative argument are quantitative evidence of school change from every-teacher surveys administered before the implementation of new organizational structures (1995), after one year (1996), and after two years (1997). The instrument consisted of 49 Likert items

representing six indicators of organizational health. The internal consistencies of the scales ranged from .59 to .82 (average alpha across all scales and years was .75). The indicators were as follows.

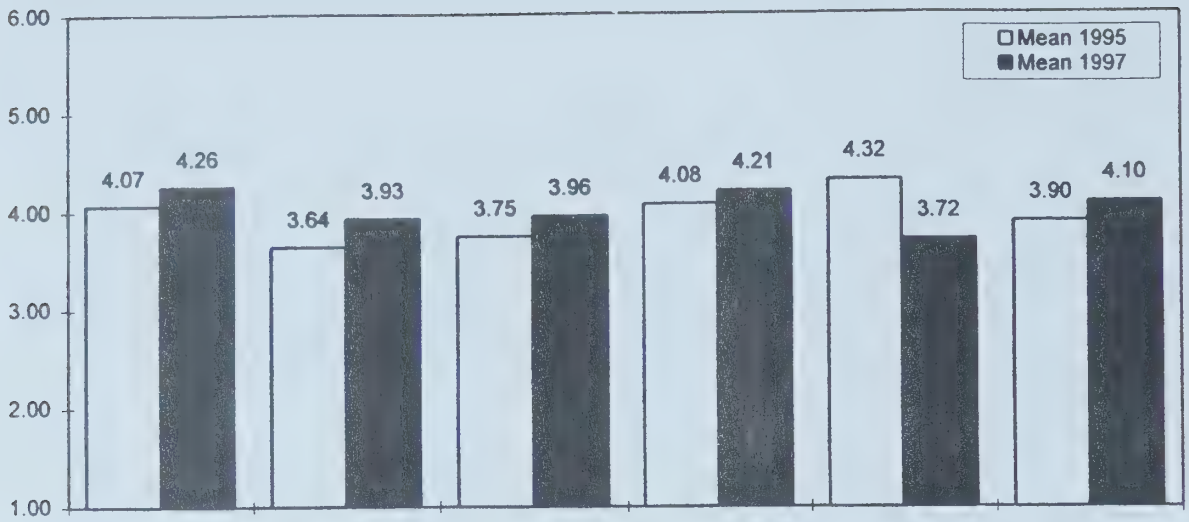
- *School goals and priorities*, that is, consensus about directions, especially continuous improvement goals, and the use of school priorities by teachers when making professional decisions (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Hannay, 1995; Hopkins et al., 1994; Rosenholtz, 1989).
- *Shared decision-making*, that is, teachers feeling well prepared to participate in key school issues and having opportunities to deliberate with colleagues with different expertise than their own (Heller & Firestone, 1995; Louis & Smith, 1990; Ross & Webb, 1995).
- *Positive attitudes to school change*, that is, teachers' belief that past attempts to bring about change had beneficial outcomes (Anderson & Fullan, 1989; Darling-Hammond, 1995).
- *School culture*, that is, teachers' support for collaborative inquiry, dedication to constant improvement, and to mutual self-help (Cousins, Ross, & Maynes, 1994; Hannay, 1995; Hopkins et al., 1994; Little, 1982; McCartney & Schrag, 1990).
- *Access to resources for professional learning*, that is, teachers' belief that they have adequate resources (materials, budget, and supportive colleagues) to change their practice (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Fullan, 1993; Huberman, 1995).
- *School and community*, that is, teachers' belief that the school and community share a common purpose (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Epstein, 1988; Fullan, 1990; Louis, 1989; Rosenholtz, 1989).

Results

Evidence that Change Occurred

Figure 1 summarizes the results of the annual surveys. The graph shows that there was a statistically significant change in all measures. In 1997 teachers reported greater consensus about school goals, greater participation in school decision-making, a stronger belief that past change efforts in the school had beneficial outcomes, and belief that there were stronger ties between the school and the community. On all these indicators the trend was flat in the first year (means and standard deviations for the 1995 and 1996 surveys were reported in Hannay & Ross, 1997); the differences became statistically significant only after two years in the project (i.e., in 1997). There was also a significant decline in teachers' perception of the availability of resources to bring about change. This decline occurred between 1995 and 1996 following the election of a government committed to reducing educational costs.

The quantitative data corroborate qualitative data from the first full year in the project (Hannay & Ross, 1997). Although there were variations between schools, interviews with teachers indicated that structures that cut across subject departments were created, new ways of interacting within these models developed, and the role of school administrators changed. Reculturing was underway as new images of teaching and learning emerged, support for a culture of inquiry grew, and cross-department collaboration increased. Finally, there was evidence that schools were exploring new ways of using time.



	'95	'97	'95	'97	'95	'97	'95	'97	'95	'97	'95	'97
SD	0.91	0.84	0.94	0.93	0.88	0.83	0.67	0.69	1.02	0.80	0.82	0.90
N	448	474	451	472	449	472	422	476	447	474	448	472
t	-3.398		-4.692		-3.622		-2.961		9.962		-3.517	
p	.001		.000		.000		.003		.000		.000	

Figure 1. Indicators of organizational health (1995 vs. 1997).

District-Level Influences on School Reform

The quantitative data and the larger bank of qualitative data indicate that change was occurring. To understand why this district was able to change when districts around it were not, we examined the district leader interviews and school focus groups. The following district-level factors contributed to secondary school change.

Leadership of the central Steering Committee. Although the Steering Committee (a representational group made up of senior administrators, union officials, a school administrator, and district support staff) did many things, a few leadership for change functions stood out. The first was the articulation and maintenance of a vision of the initiative as a site-based, program-driven, teacher-led reform of secondary schools. Committee members described a framework for change. Supervisory officers said, "We only had broad parameters in our minds as to what that would be ... our visioning was about the visioning of change [rather than] the vision of what a structure would look like at a school" (SO1).[3] Central leaders avoided providing specific models, despite strong pressure from some teachers to do so, because they believed "a template would have been counterproductive" (SO2). The committee articulated a rationale for restructuring department heads ("the job really had changed, the job wasn't counting test tubes and typewriters, etc.... it really was a job that was based on people" (union2), defended site-based change, and promoted teacher leadership.

Providing resources, particularly to help teachers enact the vision in their own schools, was the second contribution. Teachers found it helpful to "hear what was happening in other schools and receive guidance and assistance" (SRC-J). All Steering Committee members visited schools to support local planning.

Third, the Steering Committee provided encouragement and recognition. For example, the co-chairs of school restructuring committees received awards from the district's Staff Recognition Program, symbolizing the approval of their peers and trustees. A union officer emphasized the importance of giving "people a pat on the back that they're on planning committees, to point out that we recognize this is not an easy task" (union2), a theme also prominent in reports from administrators and support staff.

The fourth key function was adapting standard operating procedures, especially modifying the collective agreement. In a time of shrinking budgets trustees guaranteed unreduced funding for positions of responsibility and gave schools control of the funds. School restructuring committees believed this was crucial to their credibility. "It helped us in this school in terms of [those] people saying that there was a hidden agenda and that they were trying to save money. If we had not had that money we would have been dead" (SRC-A). Site-based decision-making created conflicts that the Steering Committee resolved on a case-by-case basis. An administrator reported that the Steering Committee also created guidelines by "sit[ting] down with [co-chairs of school restructuring committees] in a very democratic and open forum and set[ting] some basic ground rules for how those funds were to be used, monitored, and accounted for" (SO2).

The Committee monitored progress by devising tasks that enabled schools to reflect on their progress, created summaries facilitating data interpretation, and developed with school representatives rubrics for assessing school plans. Support staff regarded "that kind of self-monitoring [as] ... the quintessential assessment routine" (staff1). All Steering Committee members, particularly union officials, visited schools to talk through problems ("we've had to put out a lot of brush fires" [staff2]). For example, department heads experiencing an erosion of titles and allowances or the phasing out of their positions needed to be heard. Steering Committee members also spent time promoting a culture of inquiry in which thoughtful data-collection informed site-based decision-making. Although support staff wondered whether reculturing could be done by outsiders ("it would be arrogant to suggest that we would be involved in much that is overtly changing culture" [staff1]) they felt that the Steering Committee could lead by example in its own procedures.

District history. History contributed to initiation and continuance. First, previous experience brought administration, trustees, and union leaders together. They suspended their doubts about the motives of others because trust had been established. The previous CEO initiated a productive relationship by working with union leaders to eliminate a backlog of grievances, finding face-saving compromises. As the current CEO continued the practice of resolving disagreements with a minimum of rancor, informal procedures began to replace legalistic moves. One senior administrator described the process this way:

> We started to do little things like going down to the [union] offices to negotiate ... There are always ... stories of hardship ... in dealing through a lot of those, the [union], the leadership of it, began to realize that indeed we did have a heart. And there were some real success stories, that is, placing teachers that had to be laid off and working hard to make sure that they got back into positions,

> working with long-term disability teachers to see what their problems were and how we could help them. So that evolved over several years. (SO2)

Resolving these issues enabled teachers and administrators to minimize disruptions ensuing from government edicts. One policy (The Transition Years initiatives) could have been used to eliminate department-based positions of responsibility, but the Board did not do so. Another policy (the social contract) made it possible for the district to wrest concessions from its employees, but both sides agreed to mute the policy's impact on the work lives of teachers. This decision had a lasting impact on the trust among partners. The spirit of compromise begun 10 years earlier enabled the union and administration to develop agreements outside the collective bargaining process, bringing issues (e.g., staffing for adult education) to the formal table only after understandings had been reached.

The district also had a history of site-based management. For example, the director of education involved principals in resource allocation.

> E[ducational] A[ssistant]s are deployed on a site-based level, whereas they used to be deployed by the most senior of administration. The chief superintendent used to guard it all and would meter them out according to ... who is the loudest ... who's the favorite son today ... We've moved away from that totally ... There's the dollars. Now you sit down with your colleagues, led by the superintendent of schools ... You work out the protocol and how you are going to handle it. (CEO)

The district had a history of defining policy parameters in which schools developed local variants on homework policies, codes of behavior, and student assessment. According to one supervisory officer, "We provided a guideline and they put the meat on it based on their school-community's context" (SO2).

The second historical factor was the collective memory of bad times. One year the district accounted for one third of all secondary teacher grievances in the province. A union official observed, "There were enough teachers around who remember the days 10, 15 years ago when there was a tremendous amount of conflict ... we had a couple of strike votes" (union3). Both sides recalled distasteful events from this period and worked hard to prevent such a climate from returning.

Memories of top-down failures ("we laid down a universal plan and it was just a disaster" [union1]) encouraged solutions that involved each school finding its own path. Recalling the past also contributed to decentralized teacher leadership. An earlier attempt by district union leaders to distribute resources led to accusations of self-interest. In addition, attempts to tinker with departments had not worked. From a senior administrator's perspective, "Whenever changes did take place it was kind of 'change the name but nothing really fundamental' changes" (SO1). A district support staff member observed that "most teachers who are dynamic in doing something creative with their classes ... have come up against the organizational structure of schools a number of times and been frustrated by it" (staff2).

Although memories of the past supported project initiation, history was sometimes an obstacle, particularly when teachers recalled government initiatives that disappeared after many fanfares. A district consultant noted, "Those who had the longest tenure ... and had seen the secondary system buffeted by

[failed initiatives]; I think there was a degree of cynicism on their part that this too shall pass" (staff2). Some recalled situations in which teachers were given decision-making authority that was subsequently taken away. But shared history was more a positive than a negative factor in creating the conditions for the project.

The key role of personalities. The ability of administrators, union leaders, and trustees to work together was critical.

The CEO proposed the project during contract negotiations and enlisted the support of trustees and supervisory officers. Teacher leaders were struck by the willingness of senior administrators to rewrite policy.

> Most certainly this wouldn't work without the support of the two top [supervisory officers]. The money wouldn't flow, the priority for the time and the PD wouldn't be there and the fact that they've ... got the trustees on side. It was probably for them a bigger step than it was for us because they gave up control ... Had it been a real disaster the teachers would have walked away, hurt and damaged, but it would have caused more damage to the two [supervisory officers] with the trustees. (union1)

Senior administrators said they could be flexible because trustees allowed them to be.

> They didn't meddle in the day-to-day mechanics of this restructuring. They trusted the employee group and the senior administration would work cooperatively and things would flow out nicely ... when they saw the process unfolding they were very complimentary, very supportive, and continue to be. (SO2)

Union leaders felt their support was essential because "if this process ever loses the support of the executive of this district it will die" (union2). A key factor was the continuance of particular individuals in key roles "that allows for just the opportunities to work together and to have some success and to build the trust and resolve the problems" (union3).

Local union leaders took risks. Most respondents believed that provincial union officials were opposed to the project. The regional union representative "said clearly to us that he didn't agree" (union1) with the district leadership's stand. Provincial union leaders were concerned about the difficulty of writing contract language for such a complex and dynamic innovation. For example, they were concerned about "two people at different schools doing exactly the same job and receiving different pay ... that could ... discourage transfers" (union2). Provincial leaders worried that "it's decentralized bargaining with people that really have not been trained to bargain ... the federation has lost the power to regulate that change" (union2). District officers were also criticized by other union affiliates, as indicated by a principal who reported that "there would be many districts in the province that would like to shoot us if they could." Opposition from provincial officials focused on bread-and-butter issues like the threat to department head entitlements. They also feared that cross-departmental structures might reduce the solidarity of like-minded teachers united by disciplinary identity.

Pressure from provincial union officials was mitigated by other factors. The district local had a history of successful independence. For example, they participated in a teacher evaluation policy that deviated from provincial union

ideals. This policy was viewed as a success, encouraging local leaders to continue on their own path. Provincial union officers respected local leaders and never publicly disagreed with their positions.

Union leaders were also pressured by teachers who lost money or status. A principal reported, "There is some feeling among current department heads ... that the federation is selling them out; they should be protecting their positions as opposed to encouraging change." Pressure from teachers was assuaged when union leaders visited schools to respond to concerns.

Although district union leaders continued to follow conventional union practices, they added a commitment to change that was not previously part of their role. They helped develop a collective agreement that encouraged between-school variation, puzzled over strategies to help slowly moving staffs accelerate their pace, and celebrated when school teams broke new ground. A new conception of teacher unionism was emerging in the district. Relationships among union leaders, administrators, and trustees were less confrontational, and employers and employees were making a common cause for education in the community, for example, resisting together plans to amalgamate school districts. In dealing with individual grievances and teacher policy breaches the union was motivated by a concern for the teaching profession as well as with its obligation to defend individual teacher rights.

There were some counterindications. Union leaders did not include curriculum items in collective bargaining, believing they should be determined at a provincial level. In addition, union leaders felt they "must support even the individual member who you might want to shoot, who has done something really unprofessional" (union3). Teachers at risk of discipline received full support to ensure due process, although that "doesn't mean we are going to ... come up with an OJ [Simpson] defense" (union2). District officials saw their affiliate as an industrial union fighting for its members, even as they were experimenting with new images of how they could serve a broader array of stakeholders. As one put it,

> You have an obligation to represent your members when it comes to the crasser things such as salaries, and benefits, and working conditions, and a number of other things. That because you have this good working relationship, perhaps even on a personal level, does not mean that you should somehow soften your principles on other issues, and in fact if you do so, it's a disservice to your members. (union2)

Institutional self-consciousness. The shared history and union-administrator partnerships combined in an image of their district as unlike others. This view gave teachers (first quotation below) and administrators (second quotation), a shared identity.

> The more we went out and ... discovered there were other areas where things were happening ... most often boards were saying We've got to cut the budget by 50% ... we are going to reduce from 18 positions to 8 ... and no surprise to anybody, there was outrage all around. (union3)

> There are other [districts] in the province struggling with this ... some [districts] who possibly have not garnered the trust that they need with their unions

> because they have moved quickly to make it a win-lose, so that they win and the [unions] lose, and whenever that happens you'll find them pushing back. (CEO)

Project participants shared a sense that education was under siege and that they were providing a model for other districts.

Discussion

The survey results in Figure 1 and the qualitative evidence (Hannay & Ross, 1997) indicate significant changes occurred in school culture and processes. However, we collected no student outcome data for this portion of the study (we are doing so now), so we cannot claim that the reform has led, at this time, to improvements in the depth and breadth of student achievement. What we can claim, and substantiate, is that a first step—measurable changes in teachers' attitudes to their organizational roles—has occurred.

In this study we found that a combination of factors enabled this district to be a beacon of secondary school reform. Some of the factors contributing to this district's ability to implement secondary school reform (e.g., the specific strategies undertaken by the Steering Committee) could be transplanted to other jurisdictions. Other factors (e.g., the district's history of union-management cooperation and the willingness of individuals to take professional risks) need to be found or developed at the site or replaced with alternate forces of similar impact. Our data suggest one set combination of factors contributing to district support for secondary school reform. We are certain other models are possible.

Our results confirmed findings from previous studies, particularly the contribution of superintendent leadership and a shared history supportive of change. Nevertheless, our results differed in three ways.

First, leadership in these schools was more broadly distributed than in other studies. The CEO worked through supervisory officers (three assistant superintendents); union officials were full partners in setting project directions; key decisions were made in schools by restructuring committees dominated by teachers and by teachers appointed to new leadership roles. Ample redundancy was created—each leadership function was fulfilled by more than one agent. In addition some of the leadership tasks (e.g., monitoring the effects of the project and providing inservice on change processes) were shared with outsiders (university researchers).

Second, previous researchers have argued that teachers' unions are more likely to contribute to change when a professional model is adopted. In this conception of unionism the union defends the profession rather than individual teachers (Kerchner & Caufman, 1995). In our study union officials provided leadership for change from within an industrial union model. Images of a new unionism had begun to emerge: Union officials adapted the collective agreement to allow for flexibility among schools, thereby challenging the subject department structure of the conventional high school. However, union leaders were punctilious about staying on their side of the table. Industrialism and professionalism represent ends of a continuum with many gradations. Our findings suggest that a mid-point on the scale may be more conducive to change than the ideal types at either pole. Rigid industrialism is unlikely to foster the collaborative labor relations associated with reform (Bascia, in press),

and it is difficult for unions to maintain a professional stance over an extended time (Kerchner, 1996). Another possibility is that multiple models of unionism may exist at the same site, with union leaders shifting among them in response to specific issues.

Third, we found that a strong and continuous central presence was required to support a decentralized change model. Subject departments persist because they meet an array of administrative and teacher needs and are supported by vibrant subcultures. Without vigorous intervention by central agents, it is likely that local reformers would have been worn down like the reformers in the high schools studied by Isaacson and Wilson (1996). A central presence was also important in giving control to teachers. Although site-based decision-making has been motivated by a desire for stronger teacher leadership (Ogawa, 1994), it may have the effect of consolidating principal control (Taylor & Tashakkori, 1997). We found that principals were given virtually no official role in the determination of local changes, in contrast to other studies that found that interaction between superintendent and principal was crucial to success (Rosenholtz, 1989). By bypassing the principal the district was able to engage teachers in an exploration of alternate ways of conceptualizing secondary school education, thereby building the capacity to change in all secondary schools. As the project unfolded we became aware that differences among schools were related to what individual principals did to support, ignore, or thwart the exercise of teacher leadership in their school (Hannay & Ross, 1997). Innovations tend to come in pairs, alternating as the deficiencies of one side of the pair become known (Morris, 1997). It would not be surprising if there were a swing toward greater principal control of site-based events. Our observations to date suggest that the district—its agents and history—will play a key role in determining how teachers and principals share power.

Our continuing case study demonstrates that secondary school reform occurs in districts populated by purposeful individuals imbued with the memory of past events. These conditions provided the foundation that enabled schools to develop structures and ways of operating that cut across subject departments. In January 1998 the Ontario government merged this district with an adjacent board of similar size, a district with a different array of administrators, trustees, union officials, and a distinct history of response to change opportunities. Although the districts opposed the merger, their CEOs and trustees moved swiftly to integrate their cultures. Our longitudinal study is now focusing on the impact of the merger on the 16 secondary schools of the consolidated district. Although the context in which they work will be far more complex and conflicted, we anticipate that district-level factors will continue to exert a powerful influence on how these schools respond to calls for reform

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Notes

1. Before the initiation of secondary school renewal, the district exercised fairly tight control over schools. Key decisions about staffing, resource allocation, and curriculum were made

centrally by supervisory officers following prescriptive formulae. However, it will be argued in the district history section of the Results that the district had been moving toward a site-based approach for some time.

2. The site-based reform or devolution movement has been associated in the United States, United Kingdom, and New Zealand with the neoconservative agenda for schools. Proponents argue that giving schools control of their resources will make them more accountable. If parents are able to choose which school their children will attend, effective schools will strengthen and inept schools will wither away. Recent reviews (Whitty, 1997) suggest there is little evidence to support this claim. We found no evidence to suggest that the site-based reforms in this district were motivated by the neoconservative agenda.
3. Quotations from Steering Committee members are identified by role (i.e., CEO, SO [supervisory officer], union, principal, staff [district support staff]). If more than one individual in the role was interviewed, they are designated as SO1, SO2, and so forth. Members of School Restructuring Committee focus groups are identified by school (e.g., SRC-A for school A). Teachers appointed to new positions of responsibility are identified by role and school (e.g., POR-A1).

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Year-Round Schooling: A Catalyst for Pedagogical Change

In this article we argue that the implementation of a year-round school calendar served as a catalyst for innovations in teaching and learning and for school-level capacity-building by facilitating teachers' planning, formal and informal talk about teaching and learning, team-teaching, philosophically based programmatic changes, and a culture that supports innovation. We conclude that receptivity to change and ability to make conceptual links are keys to improving the learning environment for students and that whether the impetus is first- or second-order, structural or conceptual, is less important than is sometimes believed.

Dans cet article, nous soutenons que la mise en oeuvre d'un calendrier scolaire qui s'étend sur douze mois a servi de catalyseur pour des innovations dans l'enseignement et l'apprentissage, ainsi que pour la création d'habiletés à l'échelle scolaire. En effet, une telle démarche a facilité: la planification de la part des enseignants, les conversations (formelles et informelles) au sujet de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage, l'enseignement en équipes, l'application au programme de changements basés sur des idées philosophiques, et le développement d'une culture qui appuie l'innovation. Nous concluons d'abord que la réceptivité aux changements et l'habileté à imaginer des liens conceptuels constituent des facteurs clés pour l'amélioration de l'environnement d'apprentissage des élèves et ensuite, que la nature de l'impulsion (qu'elle soit de premier ou de second ordre, structurelle ou conceptuelle) importe moins que l'on a parfois tendance à croire.

Over the past few decades, the literature on school change has attempted to differentiate between school reform and restructuring (Darling-Hammond, 1998), between first- and second-order change (Murphy, 1992; Taylor & Teddlie, 1992; Wehlage, Smith, & Lipman, 1992), and between structural and cultural change (Fullan, 1993). Each of these dichotomies suggests that modifications that affect how we conceptualize teaching and learning are central to effective educational reform, whereas those that focus primarily on organizational structures defined by Fullan (1991) as "roles, finance and governance, and formal policies" (p. 88) are less successful. Most recently, Darling-Hammond (1998) calls for a shift from designing structures and policies to

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During the past few years both authors have been interested in examining how to create better learning environments for students. They have conducted research related to schools as communities, student engagement, and the relationship of structures like collaborative decision-making or year-round schooling to improved pedagogical practice.

effect control to capacity-building or "developing the capacity of schools and teachers to be responsible for student learning and responsive to student and community needs, interests, and concerns" (p. 39).

One initiative that seems to be receiving renewed attention and interest in today's climate of rapidly changing demographics, fiscal restraint, and concern for public education is a move from a traditional school-year calendar to one known primarily as year-round schooling (YRS). Year-round schooling is frequently presented as a complex and demanding solution for problems of overcrowding and fiscal constraint rather than as an opportunity for capacity-building. In this article we examine the relationship of year-round schooling to changes occurring in curriculum and instruction in three schools. YRS might normally be considered a first-order calendar change in that it does not usually extend the number of days a student spends in school but simply redistributes instructional and vacation days throughout the calendar year. However, we have found that in many instances this first-order change appears to have triggered, or at least facilitated, second-order, conceptual change related to teaching and learning.

In order to promote better understanding of the relationships between first- and second-order change, between a new school calendar and capacity-building at the school level, we describe the experiences of three schools that implemented a year-round school calendar. The discussion is situated in an overview of the literature related to two distinct but, in this case, interdependent topics: year-round schooling and educational change.

The Literature

Although the literature on year-round schooling increasingly suggests that a calendar change is associated with increased learning opportunities for students and with improved student outcomes, it is also emphatic in its recognition that these changes cannot be attributed solely to the new school calendar. We first provide an overview of the literature related to YRS and student outcomes and then attempt to situate it in some of the current thinking about educational change.

Teaching and Learning in Year-Round Schools

Overall, the body of research into the academic impact of year-round schooling has tended to focus on student achievement as assessed by standardized tests, with little attention to broader issues of teaching and learning. Even with a relatively narrow focus on standardized testing, some of the studies have been found to be deficient, either in terms of conceptualization or in design (Hazelton, Blakely, & Denton, 1992; Hough, Zykowski, & Dick, 1990; Zykowski, Mitchell, Hough, & Gavin, 1991). Of the more frequently cited studies, some have found no statistically significant difference in student learning (Goren & Carriedo, 1986; Hazelton et al., 1992; Merino, 1983; Zykowski et al., 1991). A few others have concluded that although there may be a positive impact for low SES or at-risk students, the overall impact on student achievement is neutral (Atwood, 1983; Capps & Cox, 1991; Gandara & Fish, 1994; Perry, 1991; Serifs, 1990). Finally, others find that YRS does improve the academic achievement for all groups of students (Baker, 1990; Bradford, 1993; Mutchler, 1993).

Most recently Kneese (1996), in a meta-analysis of YRS, was able to find only 15 studies published since 1982 that met her minimum criteria of having a control or comparison group and using student achievement as a dependent variable in a year-round school program that had been operating for at least one year. As a result, Kneese (1996) concluded that there is evidence of a slight positive impact on student achievement. She and others reporting the same result are unanimous in suggesting that the change is not due solely to the change in calendar, but to a concomitant change relating to the teaching and learning environment.

Change and Year-Round Schools

Fullan (1991) identified vision-building, initiative-taking and empowerment, evolutionary planning, monitoring, staff development, and restructuring as key components of effective school change. He cited Miles' (1987) work on vision and suggests that vision involves a sharable and shared understanding of what the school might look like and of how to get there. He concluded his discussion with the statement that "while virtually everyone agrees that vision is crucial, the practice of vision-building is not well understood" (Fullan, 1991, p. 83). Although we have found many examples of year-round school implementation we would describe as successful, few have started with the development of a "shared vision of what the *school* could look like" (p. 82, italics in the original) or of any of the other components identified above. Nevertheless, when YRS has been successfully implemented, renewed and shared vision appears to have been generated as a result of the calendar change.

In 1993, Fullan's emphasis seems to have changed somewhat, as he identifies the need for a more fluid and iterative process described as "ready, fire, aim" (p. 31). Here he suggests that although it is important to prepare for a change, and to have a rough idea of the direction in which one is heading, "crystallizing new beliefs, formulating mission and vision statements and focusing" (pp. 31-32) may well come later. In fact this approach more closely resembles the situation in most YRS change processes.

Sometimes, in a desire to improve the educational opportunities of students, a school community may choose to change to a single-track, year-round calendar in which students and teachers begin school earlier in the fall and the lost vacation time is redistributed more evenly throughout the school year. The change generally begins with a vague notion that more regular breaks, perhaps supplemented by additional enrichment or remedial activities, may be beneficial for students, but often lacks a strong vision for how this may actually occur. The multitrack calendar capitalizes on this altered timetable by organizing several discrete groups (or tracks) of students and teachers in a staggered and overlapping schedule. It is generally instituted with a broad goal of saving money or of accommodating more students in existing space. Again, vision related to a changed educational process rarely accompanies consideration of capital outlay. In each case, if implementation is successful, the "aim" of improved educational outcomes for students seems to come later, after the "ready, fire."

Another recent tenet of change theorists is Fullan's (1993) oft-quoted dictum to "reculture rather than restructure" (p. 68), which is sometimes used to

support the position that changes in structure will not effect desired capacity-building in a school. He hypothesizes that "reculturing leads to restructuring more effectively than the reverse" (p. 68). Hargreaves and Fullan (1998) reiterate the sequence of effective educational change that involves modifying relationships first and then permitting structural change to follow. They write, "when teachers really put students and their connections to students first, structural changes often follow very close behind" (p. 25). However, they note that without structural changes participants may be overwhelmed by the educational innovations.

We have noted that the opposite may also be the case, that is, that restructuring may lead to reculturing. In this article our purpose is not to assess the impact of YRS on student achievement, but to examine in more detail how the structural change to year-round schooling seems to encourage a new culture of teaching and learning. We hope this examination will support a better understanding of the relationships between structural and conceptual change.

Our Approach

The schools described in this article were research sites in three separate studies of year-round schooling conducted by one or both of the authors. Two of these occurred in elementary schools: one a single-track, the other a multitrack school; the third took place in a five-track junior high school. Data were collected through school visits; open-ended interviews and conversations with teachers, administrators, students, and district personnel; and examination of print materials. In each case, interviews with a minimum of four key informants were held, and at least two days were spent observing in the school. Insofar as possible, we permit the respondents to speak for themselves, although frequently in the interests of space we summarize their comments. We chose these specific schools because, although located in different geographic areas, all three shared what we perceived to be a supportive environment for innovation connected in some way to the year-round school calendar. Both the similarities and differences, we believed, would help us to understand the relationships of structural and conceptual change.

One of the elementary schools, Mount Sinai, is located in a district with an extensive, long-running, and well-established YRS program (all names of schools and people used in this article are pseudonyms). This school is a large multitrack school (1,300 students) serving a relatively homogeneous, predominantly white population. The other elementary school, Provost, is smaller (450 students) and serves a more urban and at-risk student body by means of a single-track schedule in a district where the norm is still the traditional school calendar. Stephen Lewis is a five-track junior high school, the 720-member student body of which is also quite diverse and perceived to be at risk. Like the second school, there are few other YRS in the district, and district-level support is not institutionalized.

For this article our analysis of the data focused on identifying the themes and patterns that helped us to understand the relationships between structural change and conceptual issues, as well as the links between first- and second-order change. To demonstrate some ways in which a change in school-year

calendar has been associated with pedagogical change, we first present a vignette of some of the change initiatives in each school.

Profile of Mount Sinai School

Mount Sinai Elementary School has a long history of being on a year-round school schedule, sometimes single-track, but most frequently multitrack. When the incumbent principal Dr. Valerie Shipley began her tenure 10 years ago, the school was on a multitrack schedule. After her first four years the school moved to a single-track "E" schedule owing to a temporary decline in student enrollment. Although the presence of everyone in the building at the same time provided a welcome opportunity for the staff to interact as a whole, all were prepared for a reversion to a multitrack schedule as enrollment increased. Indeed, after a two-year period, the school changed back to a four-track calendar (tracks A, B, C, and D), which has now been in effect since 1993.

For the last 10 years the administrative structure has remained the same, one principal and two assistant principals; but the conceptualization of their duties, particularly those of the assistant principals, has changed. Initially, the assistant principals were assigned to grade levels K-4 and 4-6 promoting what is termed *horizontal integration,* the sharing across grade levels regardless of track rotation. It became apparent that this approach facilitated students' affiliation with their grade level rather than their individual class or track. However, having one administrator responsible for students during their primary (K-3) years, and another during their next three years, seemed artificial and somewhat fragmented. Administrative assignments were subsequently changed to facilitate greater continuity for students and their parents through what was called *vertical integration.* Thus during the past four years, one assistant principal has been assigned to tracks A and C and the other to tracks B and D. Valerie informed us that this "helps with curriculum discussion, it helps with parents, it helps because you know the kids from K-6." The new vertical integration brought about a greater sense of the school as a whole and better understanding of individual students who could now be followed by the same administrator through their elementary school experience. At the same time, a creative approach to scheduling enabled the school to maintain its horizontal integration. The staff developed a six-day cycle and assigned the specialist teachers (music, art, PE) in such as way as to permit a common planning time for each grade level across all tracks regardless of the rotation. When asked whether other district schools were also on the six-day schedule, we were told this was the only one and that they had "just figured it out." Previously, the teachers had not been aware of the extent of their isolation, but the opportunity for interaction provided by two years on the single-track schedule when everyone was in the school at the same time had brought the need for extended communication to the forefront. We were informed that the increased horizontal integration had resulted in more sharing of materials, better utilization of common spaces allocated to specific grade levels, and increased talk among teachers about their teaching and learning

Soon after the school moved back to a multitrack schedule, the district instituted a middle school philosophy that involved the intended transfer of grade 6 students to designated middle schools. However, the policy preceded

the capacity of middle schools to include all grade 6 students. At Mount Sinai the fact that their grade 6 students would have to wait for two years to actually attend a different building was not a deterrent to implementation of the different philosophical approach. Recognizing that they could capitalize on the fact that middle school buses ran by the door, Valerie and her staff decided that grade 6 students should attend school not on a rotating track schedule, but on the traditional middle school calendar. To facilitate this Valerie requested that the district remove a wall from one wing of the building, which then became the traditional-calendar middle school within the existing multitrack school. Here two classes of grade 6 students were combined, with two teachers who team-taught to offer the middle school program "as much as is possible within an elementary school." This innovation ended in 1998 when a new middle school opened and the grade 6 students from Mount Sinai moved to a new building. However, teachers perceived that on an interim basis, the different grade 6 schedule had provided students with an excellent transition to middle school. The students with whom we spoke definitely supported this perception; one stated, "Now, you actually see that you have accomplished something and that you have made it through elementary school, you can say you have made it through a school, you can move on to another school. New people and stuff."

A boundary change, coinciding with the departure of grade 6 students to the new middle school in the fall of 1998, was expected to bring approximately 120 new students from grades K-5 to the school. Planning had begun the previous year to accommodate them, perhaps by adding a new alternative configuration to the school. Valerie had discussed with her staff the possibility of housing them in the old grade 6 wing and offering a multi-age, cross-grade approach. This would have a number of potential educational benefits, as well as the advantage of being the least disruptive, in terms of space allocation, to the rest of the school. She laughingly stated, "Well, I haven't really told the building people yet they're going to have to put that wall in. I told them, 'Take it out.' I haven't told them, 'Put it back in,' yet. But I will have to do that at some point."

When asked how she handled staff meetings and communication with some teachers on a multitrack schedule and others on the traditional middle school schedule, Valerie outlined an elaborate system of representative committees that, she said, conducted the business of the school. When she had previously attempted to make decisions with her 60 staff members present, it had been an unwieldy process she described as a mob. On the multitrack schedule, she has "a lot of small meetings, with different groups. They join one of our groups that really runs this building. It's site-based. So I have grade-level chairpeople, a person at each grade level and for special areas and special ed, who does a lot of the semi-administrative kinds of things." She informed us that she conducts monthly staff meetings primarily for information, communicates on a daily basis with the teachers via e-mail, and convenes the committees as necessary. For example, at the budget committee, grade-level chairpeople who were paid a stipend by the district made decisions concerning the allocation of school financial resources. It should be noted that this was not a true site-based management philosophy as Valerie bemoaned the fact that she did

not have the degree of flexibility to innovate that she might have if she had control over staffing.

When we commented on the number of changes occurring at Mount Sinai School, Valerie shared her belief that the year-round schedule forces teachers to be more flexible. "There is something about having to move every nine weeks which makes you more organized and more ready to innovate."

Profile of Provost School

Year-round schooling in Provost Elementary School was not a district mandate. In fact here teachers had fought for permission to implement the single-track schedule that had been in place for four years when our study was conducted. They described how they had held parent meetings, conducted surveys, and stormed the board with demands to change to the single-track schedule, one that they perceived would enable them better to meet the needs of their at-risk student body. One stated:

> We were really excited when we first went to the year-round schedule. We really fought to get it and we all went down to the board and fought for it. I was in resource and I thought 20 extra days for my students would be wonderful.

These teachers were convinced that adding the possibility of at least four weeks of remediation or enrichment to the school year through regular intersession offerings would provide a more consistent and more motivating learning environment for their students. Teachers believed that intersession would prevent children from being "street kids" during the long summer months, would provide a secure place for students to congregate, and would hook them into learning by providing more interactive, integrated learning opportunities in a relaxed environment where testing was not a threat. One of the teachers described the advantages this way:

> We've all got gifts, and one way or another some of our gifts just may not be opened yet. Different learning styles need to be addressed. If I were going to draw it for you I've got a little gingerbread man that really illustrates my philosophy.

She felt that the staff shared a belief that although the regular approach to schooling does not permit each gift to be identified and to flourish, the intersession structure might do so.

Intersession in Provost school was offered for a period of two weeks (of the three-week break) between the regular nine-week terms at a cost of $44 to parents, subsidized by funds from a number of grants and outside sources. The intention of intersession was to use creative approaches to instruction with the aim of increasing the motivation and enthusiasm of students for learning. Examples of creative approaches to teaching include the following. One teacher taught geometry through the vehicle of string art, where students learned to use protractors and other measuring devices in order to create the intricate patterns. Another used the creation of a school version of a "Little Rascals" video to teach communication skills. We were told that at the end of each intersession period, there was a public celebration of learning that included displays and student performances. Teachers told us of the students' delight in the quality of achievement and of their increased motivation for learning.

This was exactly what the teachers had hoped would happen when they moved to the single-track schedule. However, we were also told that unpredictable and decreasing funding available for the intersession program had shifted the teaching responsibilities from certificated teachers to noncertificated teacher aides. This has had the effect of tending to routinize the offerings and reduce teacher enthusiasm about the program. In turn this appears to have led to less teacher interaction about innovative approaches to teaching and learning, reducing the impact on their regular classroom practice. In fact we were curious about what appeared to be a negligible impact on regular classroom teaching and asked specifically about whether the creative approaches tended to carry over. Although there was a sense that there may have been some difference, the general feeling was, "Oh, we can't do that, we don't have time to do all that."

Teachers in Provost school also expressed the concern that not all the students who could benefit from the intersession programs actually attended them. They were discouraged by parents who did not seem to understand the educational benefits of intersession: some tended to accede to students' requests for a vacation; others, it was thought, sent their children because it offered a cheaper and better solution to child care than conventional babysitting services. Despite some waning of enthusiasm for the intersession program during the school's first four years on the single-track calendar, it still attracted over 50% of the student body.

In addition to the implementation of intersession, teachers in Provost School sought other ways to address the learning needs of their students. Two years after the school moved to a single-track schedule, two other innovations were implemented on a small pilot basis: two multi-age, cross-grade classes and the critical thinking program *Philosophy for Children* were introduced. At the same time, to forestall parental concerns, the principal, Ken Fairchild, promised to maintain at least one regular class for each grade level in addition to the multi-age groupings and to implement critical thinking in only some classes. By the next year the innovations had become so popular with both teachers and parents that it was difficult both to maintain the traditional classes and to fulfill parental requests for placement in multi-age, cross-grade groupings. Maintaining the dual emphasis necessitated separating some teachers who had historically worked in team situations, moving some to different grade levels in a traditional class, regrouping others to work in a team approach in the multi-age, cross-grade groupings, and restricting some from implementing *Philosophy for Children.*

Each of these innovations—intersession, new teaching strategies, critical thinking, and multi-age, cross-grade groupings—facilitated more thematic and holistic approaches to instruction and offered teachers increased opportunity to address the learning needs and styles of their students. In some instances this occurred through increased bonding during the smaller intersession classes; in others through the opportunity to have the same students in a multi-age grouping for more than one year.

Teachers in Provost School linked the need for innovation to their personal philosophies that each child could learn. They believed that for these at-risk students it might take more effort and innovation on the part of the teacher to

find appropriate learning strategies and to create supportive learning environments. They clearly thought that the move to a single-track calendar had facilitated both intersession and the other innovations that they had instituted. In fact it was their belief that the multi-age, cross-grade groupings could not have happened at their school without the prior change of calendar.

The teachers we interviewed at Provost Elementary School expressed some frustration that the scope and design of school committees tended to change frequently to the point where many had trouble remembering the name of committees on which they participated. Nevertheless, they were convinced that their site-based governance structure permitted, and even facilitated, the involvement of all teachers in the decisions we described, which they saw as having significant potential to improve student achievement.

Profile of Stephen Lewis Junior High School

Unlike the other two schools, Stephen Lewis Junior High School was a newly constructed facility opened by legislative mandate as the first multitrack school in its jurisdiction. Opened in 1993, the school was built in a community with rapidly changing demographics, generally low socioeconomic status, and associated social problems such as unemployment, crime, and youth violence. Because students had previously been bussed out of their neighborhood to attend junior high school, the school took on a considerable level of importance as a focal point for community activities.

The principal Naomi St. John was appointed a year and a half before the opening of the school and had been released from her educational duties in her previous school for a period of six months to prepare for the opening of the new school. Given that this was the first alternative-calendar school in the district, she argued successfully for a change in the traditional administrative allocation and was permitted to hire five learning leaders—one for each track—to replace the traditional assistant principals designated in the district contract. These learning leaders were teachers who were also appointed before the school opening. After a hard-fought battle by the new principal, they were also given some release time to engage in planning and the development of a shared school philosophy, to assist with teacher hiring, and to oversee specific aspects of the school construction and appointments. For example, one took responsibility for computer installation, another for furniture. The full complement of teachers was also accorded five days of release time from their previous duties to facilitate planning for instruction at the new school and to develop a Foundation Statement. We were told, "As a total staff we have developed a statement through which all of our teaching and learning issues could be filtered. The Foundation Statement is meant to be flexible in the sense that it is continually questioned and reexamined."

Two organizational features reflecting a reconceptualization of teaching and learning grew from this planning and had an obvious impact on the students in Stephen Lewis School. Each track was organized as a learning community based on a number of educational principles. The group of students and teachers assigned to a specific learning community constituted a family cluster that encouraged building strong and sequential pedagogical experiences over the three years that students were in the junior high school. In

each learning community, four teachers, an aide, and the learning leader planned for the overall experiences of the 130-150 students. Although they did not have regularly assigned instructional duties, learning leaders assisted with instruction, worked with students individually, dealt with discipline, and provided key leadership and supportive roles in determining how educational experiences were organized and offered in each track. In order to meet the needs of the students, many of whom were designated as high risk, one teacher assigned to each community had a strong background in special education, whereas the others brought strengths in various subject areas.

The students' school day was organized in a series of flexible groupings: some were grade-level groupings and others multi-age or cross-grade; some were ability groups (primarily for skill acquisition), and others were cross-ability heterogeneous groups (for cooperative learning or project-related activities). Students were sometimes grouped in large, combined classes with one teacher, and at other times worked in small groups or one-on-one with a teacher. In the learning community, students were taught the core academic subjects, optional elective classes, and participated in a teacher advisory program.

Despite the school's name, Stephen Lewis Junior High School, the approach to instruction was both thematic and integrated, really more a middle school approach than the discretely organized curriculum of a traditional junior high school. In all the school activities the emphasis was on students taking increasing responsibility for their own learning, including peer- and self-assessment. This is reflected in part of the Students' Mission Statement, which reads "Everyone is equal and able to discover themselves through trust and respect and voicing their opinions. To improve their academic and social skills, students are also encouraged to cooperate with their peers more often." As each learning period ended, a celebration of learning was held during which students invited their parents to accompany them to school to talk with teachers about their achievements and to attend student performances and presentations.

The second organizational feature that had an impact on student learning experiences was the "rainbow track" unit that served all the rotating tracks with three-week units of such activities as art, music, computing, drama, physical education, home economics, and so forth. When students were engaged in these Career and Technological Science activities, the teachers of their learning community used this common planning time for meetings and discussion of curricular issues.

Curriculum planning in the learning community was only one area of teacher responsibility and leadership in the school. The overall philosophy of Stephen Lewis School was to empower teachers, parents, and students. This supported a sense of being part of the school as a whole, as well as of belonging to a smaller internal learning community. Weekly staff meetings were held; each month three focused directly on matters related to teaching and learning, whereas the fourth was for business and information purposes. There was an additional complex system of committees with representation from each track, all of which discussed and recommended policy relating to different aspects of school life: governance, assessment and reporting, professional development,

and curriculum. Each committee chose two leaders to ensure that no matter what group was off track, there would be a leader present at meetings. Although this committee structure ensured voice and representation, it was also time-consuming and somewhat cumbersome. Hence although it was perceived by teachers to be one of the strengths of the school, it was also a source of major frustration requiring a change of mindset of the part of the teachers.

Overall, the year-round schedule of Stephen Lewis School remained very much in the background of the daily life of students and teachers; nevertheless, there was a strong sense that this structure facilitated and enhanced the opportunity to offer a reconceptualized curriculum to students. In fact although many changes might have occurred in a traditional schedule, in this district the structure of learning leaders could not have existed before the multitrack schedule was instituted. With a traditional principal and assistant principal structure, many of the curricular changes, as well as the degree of teacher leadership, would have been constrained.

Analysis and Discussion

Although this brief glimpse of some of the innovative structures and thinking in these three schools cannot begin to convey a complete impression of the complexities of the change processes in which participants engaged, we have tried to capture some of the highlights. From our analysis of the themes and patterns across the three vignettes, we identified the following six issues for discussion: teacher planning for instruction, formal and informal talk about teaching and learning, team-teaching and organizing instruction, programmatic change based on philosophies of education, principal support for innovation, and a culture that supports innovation.

Teacher Planning for Instruction

In these schools, as in many other year-round schools we have studied (Shields & Oberg, in press), teachers were clear that the changed schedule had an impact on how they thought about and planned for instruction. In fact at Stephen Lewis School, when outsiders asked questions focusing on the YR structure, teachers were quick to say that the year-round calendar was a non-issue, and that the real innovations were in how they conceptualized the pedagogy. One of the school principals we interviewed was able to summarize succinctly what the teachers had repeatedly stated,

> They'll take a vacation the first week, and the second week maybe do what they have to, but the third week, they're planning. They have their kids in their minds. You don't know your kids over the summer in a traditional school. You've got your kids on your mind, you're planning for them. I think we get all kinds of planning done for classes on year-round that you will never see in a traditional. It just happens.

Teachers told us that they no longer used the textbook as their instructional organizer, but that they looked at the calendar and planned in three-, six-, nine-, or 12-week units in order to ensure that students acquired the main concepts and that they finished a unit before going off-track. One described an approach in some detail: "Everyone would get together, decide who was teaching what math class, and what kids would go together, what kids already had what

teacher. It was a ton of work. But it worked really well." Teachers recognized that although they might not have spent as long on a particular topic as they might have wished, the organization of their instructional time was more balanced. Further, because teachers did not have to engage in all their comprehensive planning, as traditional school teachers do, in the summer before actually meeting their classes, much more of their planning was done with the needs of specific students in mind.

Although the three-week breaks between track time were definitely perceived as needed vacation time that helped in many instances to prevent or reduce teacher burnout, teachers also informed us that some of this time was used in specific thinking and planning for the next instructional block. New teachers reported that this was of particular assistance to them, "Each track it seems to get better and better and my discipline gets better and my lessons get better because I try something new." For all teachers the calendar facilitated the teacher talk identified above, as teachers returning from a three-week break were likely to share new materials and ideas with those who were still on track.

Teacher Talk about Teaching and Learning

The opportunity for teachers to plan at regular intervals during the academic year and to take more frequent breaks seemed to foster a culture in which the level of enthusiasm and discussion for educational innovation was high. Thus teachers in all three schools emphasized the importance of their frequent interactions around teaching and learning. As one put it, "We go off together, we think things through, and we talk to each other about our new ideas. There's a lot more rejuvenation happening." Some of the conversations involved sharing materials; others were to ensure smooth transitions as teachers rotated in and out of spaces in the school; still others permitted more regular discussion about educational philosophy and concepts of curriculum and instruction.

In Mount Sinai School one of the first things we were told was how grateful teachers were that the principal had found innovative ways to ensure common planning time across grade levels in order to facilitate the conversation and sharing about teaching and learning. In Stephen Lewis this was facilitated by teachers' daily common planning times and by the provision of a workroom in each track's space. In Provost School the regrouping of teachers into differently configured instructional teams offered similar opportunities for informal interaction.

In addition to informal teacher talk, we also found evidence of a high degree of formalized discussion about pedagogy in all three schools. In fact common planning time and frequent informal discussions were not adequate in and of themselves, and all three schools found ways to provide additional formal structures through which teachers could interact about curricular issues. In all cases formal committee structures were established that ensured the interaction of teachers across groups and tracks and that provided a more holistic and school-wide approach rather than just a focus on the team or grade level.

Organization of Instruction

When many people are first introduced to the concept of year-round schooling, they imagine that the logistics involved in changing the schedule will require so much time and energy that no other changes can be considered simul-

taneously. It may seem surprising that the teachers in these three schools did not permit the rotation of the schedule to prevent or inhibit their opportunities not only to plan together, but to engage in team-teaching and interdisciplinary and thematic instruction. In fact the new structures appeared to liberate rather than to constrain reconceptualization of the curriculum and instruction even when this required additional structural change.

In these schools the reconceptualization often involved flexible and changing ways of grouping students and of assigning teachers and students to meet student needs better. Hence at Provost school teachers who chose to teach at intersession did not teach at the same grade level as their regular assignment in order to ensure that they developed new, interactive materials, which in turn might have an impact on their regular classroom instruction. The institution of such innovations as multi-age, cross-grade grouping, a grade 6 middle school concept, and learning communities demonstrates that in these schools there was constant reexamination of both the organization for instruction and the conceptualization of teaching and learning.

Programmatic Change Based on Philosophies of Education

A fairly typical response by schools wishing to implement change to address student needs is the tendency to institute a number of discrete programs without prior examination of how they fit with programs currently in place or how they relate to a shared vision or overall philosophical base for school initiatives (Coleman & LaRocque, 1990; Wildavski, 1979). In these three schools programs were more likely to be developed as a result of schoolwide discussion and consensus and to emerge from and extend the shared philosophy of teaching and learning. For example, in Mount Sinai the removal of a wall and the implementation of a team-taught grade 6 program were carried out in order to permit the grade 6 students to enjoy the benefits of the middle school philosophy and schedule that was being instituted throughout the district. In Provost School the teachers fought for the single-track schedule in order to provide the intersession program because, as they each informed us, their particular student body needed the continuity and the flexibility of instructional strategies afforded by such a program. In Stephen Lewis we have seen that before the school opened, everything—from the organization of the students to the daily schedule and the assignment of teachers to learning communities—was planned to support the philosophy of caring, relevance, and student choice.

Principal Support for Innovation

Although many of the initiatives we describe related directly to teacher planning, discussion, and organization, in these schools they were supported and facilitated by the attitudes and actions of the principals. Repeatedly our respondents told us that there was something special about their principal, and that although they had worked in other schools for other principals they had rarely found one who was as open, supportive, and empowering. "I'm amazed at the support here ... you're listened to and I feel I have more support."

The need to empower participants to make decisions regarding change was evidenced by Dr. Shipley of Mount Sinai School who talked about a current proposal. She indicated that she had raised the issue, had not received a *No*

from the teachers, and was waiting to see how their responses would develop. At the same time, she was not just waiting for the teachers to make the decision, but was encouraging them by giving them additional information to be examined at the next staff meeting. She believed that the information would help them to understand the options and would constitute the basis for informed discussion. This approach to change—planting ideas, sharing information, being open to alternatives—is indicative of the approach of the three principals in this study. Teachers did not see that the ideas for change were top-down, but that the principals' suggestions formed part of the pool for discussion and consideration.

Culture That Supports Innovation

It became apparent that although these principals were leaders with strong personal visions of education and numerous ideas for innovation, they had created a culture where teachers too were willing to put forward their ideas without fear of ridicule or repercussion. In Provost School teachers had difficulty identifying the source of the experiment to implement multi-age and cross-grade groupings. There had been so much discussion about different strategies to meet student needs that the decision to implement this approach seemed to emerge from this more diffuse environment of experimentation. This example is characteristic of what we found at the other two schools as well.

Although it is difficult to describe in concrete terms what we call a culture supportive of change, the following appear to be important aspects: regular interaction and discussion of conceptual issues, frequent revisitation of school philosophy and vision, willingness to experiment, opportunity for change initiatives to emerge from any source or direction, and supportive leadership. In addition, we have found that the teachers demonstrated a remarkable personal willingness not only to suggest change, but also to participate in or to lead it. Moreover, the innovations these teachers were willing to attempt went well beyond structural tinkering with programs and affected the conceptual core of their practice.

Implications and Conclusion

Much of the year-round school literature concludes that where YRS appears to have had a positive impact on student achievement it has been accompanied by other changes (Goren & Carriedo, 1986; Hough et al., 1990; White, 1992). In this article we describe some related innovations in three schools and show how a reconceptualization of practice has in turn modified the learning environment of these schools. In addition, some literature focuses on the effects of the calendar change to YRS in terms of its impact on teachers, administrators, and families with schoolchildren (Alkin, 1993; Baker, 1990; Brekke, 1983; Christie, 1989; Hazelton et al., 1992; Perry, 1991; Zykowski et al., 1991). Despite this relatively large body of literature that emphasizes preimplementation concerns, most authors stress that these quickly tend to dissipate following the implementation of the YRS calendar. In the three schools described in this article we found that the calendar change has been very much a nonissue except insofar as respondents perceived it to have facilitated other changes. This is in startling contrast to most of the literature in which a change to YRS

has been found to constitute a major and almost overwhelming shift of focus (Kirman, 1991; Koki, 1992; Rasberry, 1994; Shields & LaRocque, 1997).

We posit that this attitude may be due to a failure to distinguish between changes that are structural in nature and those that are conceptual. The starting point for this article was a discussion of three schools that had implemented a change from a traditional to a year-round calendar. Typically, a structural change of this magnitude, requiring new teaching assignments, redistribution of resources, community consultation, and alterations in school governance, is considered a second-order change. We have challenged this notion by demonstrating that in these three schools the structural change alone may be better represented as a first-order change and that the pedagogical reconceptualization triggered by the new calendar is the true second-order change.

The educators in these three schools recognized that the year-round schedule was a structural modification they could exploit to further their educational philosophy and to support the additional innovations they wished to implement. In fact all three schools are good examples of organizations in which the structure is relatively fluid and in which numerous alterations are made on an ongoing basis. In every instance our teacher respondents emphasized the work and challenges associated with instructional innovations and advantages and rarely, unless asked directly, spoke of their school calendar.

We found no evidence in any of these three schools of an intentional emphasis on capacity-building, that is, a focus on "the motivation, skill and resources that are needed to perform at a high level" (Darling-Hammond, 1998, p. 72). In the two elementary schools, teachers did, however, take advantage of the YRS calendar, with its more regular breaks, to begin to discuss issues of practice, as well as some of their underlying beliefs and assumptions. In Stephen Lewis Junior High School considerable discussion about teaching and learning occurred before the school opening. However, recall that in this instance, as in Mount Sinai Elementary School, the calendar change had been mandated by the district. Neither clear vision nor a culture for change and innovation had been present before the decision to implement YRS. In Provost School teachers believed that offering intersession might help some of their at-risk students; they did not plan at the outset to add critical thinking or multi-age, cross-grade groupings.

Some might assert that if the culture and vision for transformation were not present at the outset, the changes demonstrated by these three schools were merely serendipitous and cannot be attributed to the revised calendar. The issue is definitely complex and the changes interrelated. However, we find support for the notion that a new pattern or structure may act as a catalyst or trigger for additional change. Perhaps in the case of year-round schooling increased communication between school and community (required to coordinate new schedules and calendars) inspires additional support for the school. Perhaps the increased interaction, necessitated as teachers share physical space or coordinate team-teaching or intersession activities, reduces teacher isolation and increases their sense of motivation and empowerment. Perhaps it is simply that having to cope with the deceptively simple, but politically volatile, calendar change promotes an increased sense of power and professionalism on the

part of teachers. We are currently beginning to explore these and other possible explanations.

Regardless of the explanation, educators in these three schools would agree that the new school-year organization provided the impetus for reconceptualizing teaching and learning, as well as for increased capacity-building in each school. Thus it is our hope that this article will be helpful to practitioners and policy-makers—both those considering or working within a YRS calendar and those dealing with other types of innovations. Nathan and Myatt (1998), in their discussion of capacity-building, emphasize the need for "disseminating promising practices that emerge from diverse schools" (p. 130). Here we suggest that expanding the list of promising practices to include some unlikely and apparently simple structural changes may be a worthwhile endeavor.

The complexity of educational change indicates that it may not be necessary to prioritize reculturing and restructuring, but rather to begin wherever a change is occurring and to use it as a trigger for additional changes. Wheatley (1993) suggests that one of the new leadership tasks is to understand the underlying patterns in our organizations, "to seek out surprises, relishing the unpredictable when it finally decides to reveal itself to us" (p. 142). "The dance of this universe," Wheatley says, "extends to all relationships we have. Knowing the steps ahead of time is not important, being willing to engage with the music and move freely onto the dance floor is what's key" (pp. 142-143).

The implementation of year-round schooling seems to be surprisingly like the dance in which the steps, sometimes even the tune and rhythm, are unknown at the outset. We are increasingly convinced that the starting point is less important than the ability and willingness of participants to make new conceptual links to their educational practice. In turn, these links hold the potential for a change initiative to have a positive impact on the learning environment of students.

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Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years

During the past few years Citizenship and Immigration Canada has significantly changed the citizenship process by modifying the application procedure, eliminating many citizenship judge positions, introducing a multiple-choice test, and restructuring the citizenship ceremony itself. In order to assess the impact of these changes on citizenship education, we located and contacted citizenship programs across the country. For comparison purposes we followed much the same procedure used in a study conducted for the Secretary of State 10 years ago. The current study identified far fewer programs available to adult immigrants than in the past. Furthermore, since the last study the scope of the content in citizenship education programs has remained essentially unchanged in some instances or has been reduced in others. Recommendations are made for policy-makers.

Depuis quelques années, Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada a modifié considérablement le processus d'obtention de la citoyenneté en apportant des changements à la procédure de demande, en éliminant plusieurs postes de juges de la citoyenneté, en y ajoutant une évaluation à choix multiples et en restructurant la cérémonie de remise des certificats de citoyenneté. Dans le but d'évaluer l'impact de ces changements sur l'éducation civique, nous avons identifié des programmes de la citoyenneté de par le pays et en avons contacté les responsables. Pour faciliter la comparaison, nous avons suivi de près la même procédure qui a été employée lors d'une étude entreprise pour le Secrétaire d'État il y a 10 ans. Notre étude a noté que le nombre de programmes mis à la disposition des immigrants adultes a beaucoup diminué. De plus, depuis la dernière étude à ce sujet, l'envergure du contenu des programmes d'éducation civique a demeuré essentiellement inchangée dans certains cas, et a diminué dans d'autres. Nous offrons des recommandations aux initiateurs de programme.

Although the federal government and several provinces have funded citizenship programs for newcomers for a long time, there has been little research on the efficacy of these programs; furthermore, most research into citizenship education is focused on school-aged children (e.g., Sears & Hughes, 1996). Although clearly citizenship education for Canadian-born children is of vital importance, it is also of real consequence for adult immigrants who have

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grown up with a different set of assumptions, a different history, and a different cultural reality than Canadian-born individuals. Citizenship education should provide a window on the combination of political, economic, and social factors that have shaped Canada and its people, particularly as these factors have a critical impact on immigrants' lives.

In a comprehensive review of the federal government's role in citizenship education, Joshee (1996) points out that citizenship education for newcomers, although defined as a means of helping immigrants to participate fully in Canadian society, is instead "increasingly associated with the acquisition of some English or French and meeting the legal requirements of naturalization" (p. 108). This was evident in strategies underlying the now-defunct federal government Citizenship Instruction and Language Training (CILT) grants: for many years the Department of the Secretary of State provided funding to English as a second language (ESL) programs on the understanding that both language and citizenship concepts would be developed.

However, in a census of ESL and English-language citizenship programs in Canada, Derwing and Munro (1987) found that a small minority of ESL programs placed any significant emphasis on Canadian content, much less on citizenship issues. Programs designed specifically to impart citizenship concepts were for the most part geared to helping students through the court hearing. In fact 86% of coordinators surveyed at that time stated that preparing newcomers for the hearing was the main objective of their programs, 26% of respondents mentioned improving the students' knowledge of Canada, and only 12% reported encouraging students to participate in Canadian society.

Thus Joshee's (1996) claim is upheld, at least to the point when the federal government introduced LINC programs (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) in 1992. It is the explicit policy of LINC that adult immigrant students not only receive language instruction, but that the content of such instruction be Canadian-based, and that LINC curricula encourage active participation in the Canadian way of life. Nonetheless, as Courchêne (1996) and Sauvé (1996a) have pointed out, there has been little in the way of support for instructors in ESL programs to adapt their teaching to the dictum of LINC, especially given the complexities of teaching across cultures. Most ESL programs, however, have made some changes to their offerings in order to comply with the new funding requirements.

In response to a perceived increase in interest in Canadian content in ESL, materials developers have produced a number of new textbooks in recent years (Bates, 1990; Berish & Thibaudeau, 1993; Brod & Frankel, 1993; Cameron & Derwing, 1996; Sauvé, 1996b). In addition, a number of initiatives have been undertaken in the last decade to improve the state of citizenship-specific education with the goal of broadening its earlier aims, which were limited to meeting the requirements of the court hearing.

The Derwing and Munro (1987) census was part of an initiative of the Citizenship Instruction Review Project (CIRP) under the auspices of the Corporate Policy Branch of the Secretary of State. CIRP entailed not only a detailed survey of existing citizenship instruction programs and an accompanying directory, but also the development of a handbook entitled *More of a Welcome Than a Test* (Pratt, 1988). As a part of the project, Secretary of State also funded

three citizenship instructor conferences and provided support for the establishment of the provincial newsletters *Citizenship Alberta* and *Citizenship BC*. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship was also active in the late 1980s. One of its accomplishments was to produce a special issue of *TESL Talk* on citizenship education (vol. 19, 1989). While this activity was occurring in adult citizenship education, emphasis in adult ESL programs was moving into a phase of participatory learning, and a number of programs arose in which students' engagement in Canadian society was a principal goal of the programming (e.g., Hernandez, 1989; Mohamid, 1989). Citizenship education for adult immigrants seemed to be coming into its own.

For its part, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) developed a new version of *A Look at Canada* (Government of Canada, 1995), the document provided by the federal government to every applicant for Canadian citizenship. The booklet contains short descriptions of the regions, each consisting of a few paragraphs (written in basic language) on people, the economy, geography, and climate. There is also a section on Aboriginal peoples from a historical perspective. Canadian government, lawmaking, electoral procedures, and rights and responsibilities of citizenship are the topics of the remaining sections (the full text can be found on the CIC website). In the document CIC defines Canadian citizenship as "being a part of Canada."

Given the changes outlined above, and in particular the outcome of CIRP, we might have expected to see important changes in citizenship education. The purpose of the present study, then, was to assess the current state of adult citizenship programs and some large ESL programs from across the country to determine whether the developments noted above have indeed resulted in significant changes. Comparisons are made with the 1987 survey; the relative quality of the programs is discussed in the light of the nature of their content and whether they address CIC's stated goal: to help newcomers become "a part of Canada."

Methodology

Locating Programs

We telephoned the agencies that provided citizenship programs in 1987 to inquire whether they still offered citizenship courses and whether they were aware of any other citizenship programs in their area. We also contacted organizations that offer aid to immigrants from a list provided by the Department of Canadian Heritage. Finally, we interviewed coordinators from large ESL programs in Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta to inquire about citizenship classes in their area and Canadian content offerings in their own programs. A few organizations offering citizenship classes may have been missed, but we made every attempt to identify all the programs in English-speaking Canada in order to make direct comparisons with the 1987 survey.

Data were collected in a three-step process: first, telephone contact was made; second, a six-page questionnaire was mailed; and third, a follow-up telephone interview was conducted. This method was found to be most efficient in that program coordinators were given an opportunity to think about the questions and collect some of the information in advance of the interview. The interview provided them with an opportunity to express their opinions

and to give elaborated responses that they might not have been willing to formulate in writing because of time constraints.

Questionnaires

We used the questionnaire to elicit course scheduling information, student profiles, an outline of course content, lists of materials and equipment, and staff profiles. In addition, we included some open-ended questions to elicit the coordinators' assessment of the changes to the citizenship process. A slightly different questionnaire administered to the ESL programs focused on the use of Canadian content, citizenship-specific content, and reactions to changes in the citizenship process.

Telephone Interviews

Each telephone interview took approximately 30 to 45 minutes. A small minority of respondents chose to complete the questionnaire and mail it back. Whenever possible these individuals were contacted later to clarify and expand on their original answers. There was an 86% response rate overall.

Results

The data collected from the questionnaires and interviews were tabulated, analyzed, and compared with the findings of the 1987 study.

Program Profiles

Types of programs. We identified 41 separate organizations that offer citizenship courses. Of the programs contacted 95% provide classes specifically for preparation for the citizenship test, and 5% offer ESL courses with a heavy emphasis on citizenship issues. In the original survey more than double the number of citizenship-specific programs were located (89) and an additional 15 ESL programs with a heavy emphasis on citizenship issues were also identified. We believe that this disparity reflects a genuine decline in the number of classes available. For example, we were unable to locate any citizenship programs in the Maritimes (whereas 4 were identified in 1987). Several agencies reported that they offered citizenship classes in the past but no longer do so for a variety of reasons, including funding cuts and changes to the court requirements. Many organizations that used to hold citizenship classes now give individuals a copy of *A Look at Canada* and counsel them to study it on their own. Several agencies have compiled lists of multiple-choice questions and answers based on the content of *A Look at Canada,* which they give to applicants in lieu of a citizenship preparation course.

Hours of instruction. The number of hours of instruction per week varies from 1 to 14, with an average of 3 hours. Course length also varies considerably, from 1 to 41 weeks, with a national average of 12 weeks. The figures for the longer courses may be somewhat misleading in that they tend to be courses with continuous intake. Because students are accepted over the duration of the course, the number of total class hours may not reflect the amount of time an individual spends studying citizenship. If the continuous courses are excluded, the weeks of instruction range from 1 to 12, with an average of 6 weeks. This is probably a more accurate reflection of the amount of citizenship training individuals receive. The 1987 survey found a great deal of variation in instruction

time as well. At that time classes ranged from 2 to 90 hours of instruction, with an average of 24.5 hours, including the courses with continuous intake.

Publicity. Organizations have continued to rely on similar methods of publicity over the past 10 years. Like the 1987 census, the current study found word-of-mouth, flyers, posters displayed at citizenship courts, and networking with other agencies to be the most common practices.

Fifty-six percent of respondents stated that the citizenship courts distributed information about their programs. However, some coordinators complained that it is now difficult for individuals to get information from the citizenship offices because there are no direct phone numbers. In many cases there is no government citizenship office in the city where the program is offered.

When respondents were asked to list the reasons why students attend their programs, quality, cost, bilingual classes, convenient times, and locations were common responses. Forty-nine percent of respondents stated that theirs was the only class available or that there were limited choices. This is especially true in smaller centers.

Bilingual programs. Of the 46% of programs that offer bilingual classes (classes in English and the students' native language), a subset of 79% target a specific cultural or linguistic group. In addition, one program offers bilingual Mandarin and Vietnamese classes designed specifically for students who have already failed the citizenship test. Of the bilingual classes 61% are offered in Chinese, 13% in Punjabi, and 9% in Vietnamese. Classes are also offered in Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, and Korean. All these programs have bilingual instructors rather than interpreters. In 29% of bilingual programs over three quarters of the instruction time is in the students' first language. Sixty-five percent of the programs report that more than half the class time is conducted in the students' first language. This finding is similar to that reported in the 1987 survey. The heavy emphasis on the students' first language suggests that they have extremely limited English proficiency.

Funding. Sources of funding vary across the provinces, but there is a definite downward trend in overall funding. In BC 50% of the programs charge tuition, 20% receive no funding, 20% are funded through private sources, and 10% receive funding through the Ministry of Multiculturalism. In Alberta 40% of the programs receive no funding, 60% charge tuition, and 20% have some government funding (i.e., one third of the programs both charge tuition and receive some government funding). The single program located in Saskatchewan is supported by funding to other programs from Canadian Heritage. In Manitoba 50% of the programs receive funding through tuition and 50% are funded by Canadian Heritage. Most programs surveyed are located in Ontario, of which 14% report that there is no funding, 9% collect tuition, 19% receive federal government funding, and 41% are supported by the provincial school boards. Another 36% receive other provincial funding. Thirty-four percent of the programs surveyed reported losing a significant portion of their funding in the last two years. At the time of the survey, tuition ranged from $5.00 to $60.00; most programs charged less than $30.00 to cover photocopying and other miscellaneous costs. During the telephone interviews it was apparent that there was a great deal of upheaval and distress for pro-

grams in Ontario and that significant changes in the sources of funding and the programs were expected in the near future.

Student Profiles

Demographic information. Coordinators indicated that programs collect less information about their students than 10 years ago. Respondents often reported that they have a "feel" for their students and that relevant information is obtained informally in class. Of the programs that collect information 28% use it for class planning and 21% for student placement. Other uses include providing statistics for a governing board, providing instructors with background information, and providing funders with required information.

Length of time in Canada. Eighty-one percent of the respondents reported that most of their students had lived in Canada between 2 and 5 years. From the telephone interviews it appears that most students apply for citizenship and take the test as soon as they are eligible (i.e., as soon as they have completed their three years' residency in Canada).

English proficiency/literacy/formal education. Respondents were asked to estimate the English proficiency of their students. The average percentages are 11% for advanced, 30% for intermediate, 23% for high beginner, and 36% for low beginner. The estimated number of students who have difficulty reading and writing in English is 48%, with a range from 5% to 100%. The levels of English proficiency in citizenship classes appear to have remained relatively stable. In the 1987 survey it was estimated that at least 60% of students were at the beginner level.

Over half the programs were unable to estimate their students' level of education. The estimates put forward by the remaining programs are as follows: 0-6 years, 38%; 7-9 years, 24%; 10-13 years, 28%; postsecondary, 10%.

Eighty-five percent of respondents reported that their classes consist of mixed proficiency levels, 12% reported some mixed classes, and 2% reported that low beginners are separated from the rest.

Course Content

Course objectives. Eighty percent of respondents stated that the main objective of their citizenship preparation course was to help students pass the citizenship test, 23% cited the development of knowledge about Canada as a primary objective, 18% listed integration and participation as a goal, and 5% reported that English language improvement is a primary objective.

When asked about secondary objectives, 22% stated that they had none, that they were focused solely on helping students pass the exam. Participation in Canadian society was listed by 20% of the respondents, as was helping the students acquire knowledge about Canada. Both language improvement and passing the test were cited by 10% of the programs. These findings suggest that the objectives of the programs have not changed significantly over the past 10 years.

Course topics. Representatives from all the programs surveyed reported teaching the topics covered in *A Look at Canada*, namely, geography, history, the electoral process, levels of government, and rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens. A few also stated that they attempt to supplement the information in *A Look at Canada* with localized and current information. These

individuals often felt that this supplemental information was essential to help their students to become participating, integrated Canadian citizens, even though local information cannot be tested in the nationally-oriented citizenship test.

Class activities. We asked coordinators how citizenship information is presented in the classroom. Formal presentation of information by the teacher remains, by far, the most common: 93% of respondents reported that this takes place frequently or every class. Class discussion and practice for the test are also common activities, with over 70% of coordinators stating that they take place frequently or every class. Reading takes place at least sometimes in 70% of the classes. From Table 1 it is evident that few other activities are employed in the citizenship classroom. When asked whether guest speakers are invited to the courses, 59% of coordinators stated that they seldom, if ever, have visitors. Of the programs that reported guest speakers, citizenship officers and politicians are generally invited to talk with the students. During the telephone interviews it became clear that although several respondents would like to incorporate other activities, they feel that a lack of both time and resources prevents them from doing so.

Course evaluation. Respondents were asked to list the methods used to evaluate the success of their course. As with the first survey, the majority (51%) stated that they consider their course a success if the students obtain citizenship. In a related form of evaluation, 12% of programs administer a mock exam at the end of their course and appraise the success of the course by those results. Twenty-seven percent of programs use informal feedback as their only method of evaluation. Attendance is taken into consideration in 20% of the programs, and 15% have their students fill out evaluation forms. Two coordinators in small centers stated that they consider students' involvement in the community when evaluating the success of their course.

Materials and equipment. By far the most commonly used resource material is *A Look at Canada,* with 71% of programs making use of it either several times per course or every class. Printed handouts developed in-house (largely question-and-answer) are also used frequently, with 68% of respondents stating

Table 1
Frequency of Selected Class Activities (Percentages)

Activity	*Never*	*Seldom*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Every class*
Lecture	0	2	5	13	80
Games	37	10	35	8	10
Field trips	65	10	23	2	0
Film/slide pres.	43	18	21	18	0
Small group work	33	13	18	23	13
Readings	28	2	30	20	20
Role plays	59	15	15	8	3
Class discussions	10	2	18	25	45
Writing activities	67	18	13	0	2
Practice for test	8	2	15	25	50

that they use them either several times per course or every class. Several respondents also mentioned using pictures or magazine photos, newspapers, and provincial publications.

In terms of equipment use, the results are similar to those of the survey 10 years ago. Every program reported using photocopiers extensively. Most programs never use video or audiotapes, nor were these mentioned in the discussion of classroom activities. All in all, it would appear that media presentations of any kind are rare. Although the use of computers was reported by 31% of the program respondents, most use them solely for word processing (e.g., creating handouts) rather than in the classroom.

Although respondents praised the new version of *A Look at Canada* as an improvement over the previous publications of Citizenship and Immigration, several individuals expressed disappointment that publications such as the *Ontario Times* are no longer available because of funding cuts. Also, several suggested that visual aids designed for the citizenship classroom, such as short videotapes, would be useful.

Federal government initiatives. Canadian Heritage has created a series of materials under the Canadian Participation Initiative (CPI). These resources are essentially citizenship instruction materials that deal with issues such as family life in Canada, the social welfare system, employment issues, human rights, rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the political system. Although the intent is to impart information, the pedagogical approach of the CPI is participatory in nature, and the complexities of the political and social fabric of Canadian life are not ignored. To assess the impact of the CPI resources, we asked coordinators if they were aware of any federal government initiatives on citizenship education in the past two years. Of the programs contacted 80% reported being unaware of any government initiatives, 5% had used the CPI binders and found them useful, 10% believed their programs owned a copy or that their ESL programs might use it, and 5% were aware that the materials existed but had not seen any of the binders. (It was not possible for us to determine whether distribution problems lie with the producers of the material or in the agencies themselves. One coordinator mentioned that the distribution of materials in her own organization is not systematic, and that often teachers are unaware of some of the available resources that have been sent directly to the agency.)

Staff Training and Evaluation

Staff requirements. The monetary resources of individual programs dictate the extent to which agencies are able to require certain qualifications of their staff. Of the programs that we surveyed 32% require professional background in teaching English as a second language (TESL), and 29% prefer it. Thirty-eight percent require ESL teaching experience and 44% prefer it; 24% do not take either into consideration. In the programs that existed 10 years ago 40% required TESL training and 40% preferred it; and 39% required ESL teaching experience and 17% preferred it. In the programs that receive little or no external funding the requirements are often based on the personal attributes of the teacher. Examples of the preferred characteristics are an open mind, a

willingness to teach in the evenings, an interest in the area, and personal experience with the citizenship process.

The amount of training that is provided to the staff also fluctuates depending on the resources available to the individual programs. Forty-one percent of programs provide either no additional training or only informal on-the-job training. Thirty-one percent of respondents mentioned sending their staff to workshops, seminars, or conferences sponsored by others. This figure is considerably lower than the 58% reported in 1987. As was the case in 1987 21% of programs sponsor sessions for their staff; in some cases this consists solely of a general volunteer orientation. Five percent of agencies indicated that there is no need to provide additional training because they are able to hire highly qualified staff; an additional 5% stated that they send their teachers for a one-on-one orientation with an officer of the citizenship court.

Staff evaluation. The most common form of teacher evaluation is in-class observations by coordinators; 54% percent of programs conduct this form of evaluation compared with 73% 10 years ago. The remaining methods of evaluation are similar to those reported in the previous study. Thirty-nine percent have the students fill out an evaluation form, 12% have the teachers complete a self-evaluation, and 12% of programs have in-class observations by other instructors. Finally, 22% of respondents stated that no teacher evaluations occur or that only informal evaluation is carried out.

Testing and Application Procedure

Contact with citizenship officials. Respondents were asked how often they come into contact with judges, citizenship officers, and provincial government representatives. It would seem that there is little contact on the whole. In 1987 over 70% of program coordinators reported that they were in touch with judges or citizenship officers at least occasionally; now those percentages are 30% for judges and 58% for citizenship officers (many judges' contracts had expired at the time of the survey).

A concern voiced by many coordinators has to do with the lack of personal contact in the citizenship process. Several individuals stated that the citizenship application forms are difficult to understand (not only for the immigrants, but also for people working in immigrant-serving agencies). Previously court officers assisted applicants, but in many locations this no longer occurs because applications are handled by mail. One coordinator noted that if there were a short interview to check the application form, the literacy level of the applicant could be assessed. She suggested that if it was clear that the applicant had literacy problems, he or she could be excused from the written test and an oral interview could be held instead. Such a procedure would be preferable to the current practice of having all applicants write the exam, literate or not, and subsequently granting interviews to those who fail.

Multiple-choice versus short-answer. Respondents were also asked to estimate the percentage of their students who would have difficulty with multiple-choice tests versus fill-in-the-blank or short-answer tests. Coordinators estimated that 45% of the students would have difficulty writing a multiple-choice exam because of the confusing format. Although several people expressed concerns over the low literacy levels of their students and the

ambiguity of multiple-choice questions, the general feeling was that fill-in-the-blank or short-answer tests would be more difficult for students than multiple-choice.

Written test versus oral interview. Participants were also asked to give their opinions regarding the process of becoming a citizen, particularly the change from the oral interview to a written multiple-choice test. Most program coordinators expressed concern with the current process, citing the inflexibility and superficial nature of the test. In contrast with respondents from unilingual programs, however, most bilingual program respondents preferred the multiple-choice test over the oral interview, stating that it is more objective, cost-efficient, and quicker. One of the coordinators reported that the written test was easier for her students because they had received an education in English (in Hong Kong) and could therefore read and write in English, but had difficulty speaking. The bilingual classes tend to focus on rote memorization of the answers to the 200 possible questions at the back of the *A Look at Canada* booklet. One bilingual program does not use *A Look at Canada* or any other material; instead a bilingual list of the 200 questions and answers is used exclusively. The respondent from this program felt that this practice enhanced the students' likelihood of recognizing key words in the written test.

A majority of the coordinators expressed concern that the test is unfair to individuals who have limited English literacy; even many of those who prefer the test to the interview agree with this sentiment. Although individuals who fail the written test are subsequently interviewed, many respondents felt that having to write and fail the test first is a degrading experience. Doubt over the relevance of the test material was also expressed. Respondents questioned how learning the information on the test would aid new Canadians to become integrated, participating citizens. Several felt that people born in Canada would not know the information that is tested (this intuition was verified in a national Angus Reid poll in the fall of 1997). According to one coordinator, her students feel the test is the government's way of "making" them fail. Another coordinator stated that the introduction of the test had diminished the quality of his class. Previously he was able to explore issues in-depth, discussing why his students wanted to become Canadians and what it meant to be a Canadian citizen. Now he finds that his students are extremely anxious about the test and want only the answers to the questions. Many other respondents reported similar experiences and stated that their students want to ensure that they are not wasting the $200 application fee to go through the citizenship process.

Most respondents felt that all stages of the current procedure are highly depersonalized, from the mail-in application to the actual testing. Several individuals also expressed dismay over the fact that many judges' contracts are not being renewed and that they are no longer officiating at many citizenship ceremonies.

ESL Provider Responses

Half the ESL program coordinators surveyed reported that they place a stronger emphasis on Canadian content that they did prior to LINC; a quarter of the programs were not in existence before LINC, and the remainder said that their focus has not changed. Four fifths of coordinators stated that they prefer

to use Canadian materials whenever possible; however, they were more likely to use commercially available texts than government-produced publications. Only one program coordinator was confident that the CPI material was being used in classrooms. Most respondents had heard about the changes to the citizenship process; most were not in favor of replacing the oral interview with a written test. Several coordinators mentioned that students need a personal touch: as one individual put it, "The procedure was better when they had judges; there is nothing to compare. The judge had that personal human contact ... They may be saving money, but they are short-changing a lot of newcomers." A third of the LINC providers suggested that the written test might cause less anxiety than an oral interview.

Discussion

It is clear that a general decline in the quantity and quality of adult citizenship education programs has taken place over the past decade. Not only are fewer programs in existence, but several of those remaining have downsized in terms of length. There is less emphasis on staff training and evaluation and far less contact with the Court of Canadian Citizenship. The content of courses is now driven almost exclusively by the multiple-choice test introduced by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, all the questions of which were derived from *A Look at Canada*.

It might be argued that ESL LINC programs are able to provide newcomers with the knowledge and skills required for Canadian citizenship, and indeed there appears to be a greater reliance on Canadian materials than in the period prior to LINC. There are reasons to believe, however, that LINC programs do not have a strong citizenship concentration:

- most students in LINC are within their first year of arrival, when their concerns are principally settlement and employment issues;
- ESL providers in this survey indicated that their primary focus is communicative competence—although they tend to use Canadian materials, the content is secondary because communicative skill-building is the ultimate goal; and
- the content of the citizenship test is viewed as somewhat arcane by ESL program providers (and apparently by the Canadian public) and therefore less useful in day-to-day life than basic English survival skills.

Some would argue that the changes to the citizenship process, including the implementation of the test and the mail-in application forms, are an improvement over the old procedures. For example, Appelt (1998) claims: "The Department of Citizenship and Immigration continues to find ways of *enhancing* Canadian citizenship.... Today new procedures are in place in order to shorten the time required for processing routine citizenship applications" (p. 18, italics added). Expediency and reduction in costs may be served by the changes, but should these factors be prime considerations in granting citizenship to newcomers?

The ultimate question Citizenship and Immigration policy-makers should be asking is not "How can we make the naturalization process more cost-effective?" but rather "What should our expectations of Canadian citizens be in general, and how can we best help immigrants meet those expectations?"

Coordinators of bilingual programs that cater to individuals with a limited grasp of English are by and large in favor of the multiple-choice exam because they can help their students to memorize sight words. Such exams, however, promote a superficial level of understanding of what it means to be a Canadian.

In some respects it seems as if two departments of the federal government are working at odds: Canadian Heritage has spent considerable money developing the CPI and has recently funded a series of seminars and think tanks related to citizenship education. At the same time, Citizenship and Immigration has put into place an extremely narrow notion of citizenship by eliminating many of the judge positions, by cutting funding to some programs, and by introducing a test that by its nature allows for no individualization of questions (e.g., Who represents you on city council?). One coordinator stated that "if it was their [the federal government's] intention to put me out of business, they're doing a great job." Apparently Citizenship and Immigration policy-makers view citizenship as little more than naturalization on committing to memory the small body of facts outlined in *A Look at Canada*. Rather than working at cross-purposes, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration should provide financial support to citizenship programs to ensure that the CPI materials produced by Canadian Heritage could be used.

Several respondents to this survey felt that becoming a citizen is a momentous and tremendously exciting event for new Canadians and that the changes, especially the lack of personal contact, have devalued the meaning of citizenship. The elimination of the hearings with a citizenship judge in particular was cited as a major loss. A human interviewer can adjust questions to the language proficiency level of the applicant such that every individual can respond to the best of his or her ability. The current procedure, where speed of processing paper is the only obvious goal, suggests that the government does not consider citizenship to be significant. This sends a disturbing message to immigrants: if the federal government doesn't value the importance of becoming a Canadian, why should they?

Perhaps we should be looking much further back than 10 years to get some insights on what citizenship education should entail. Saul (1997), commenting on a picture of immigrants in a 1913 citizenship class, noted the following on the blackboard behind the students.

> Duties of a Citizen
>
> 1. Understand our Government
> 2. Take active part in politics
> 3. Assist all good causes
> 4. Lessen intemperance
> 5. Work for others.
>
> ... the general assumption attached to immigration was the expectation that an immigrant would quickly join in the social process, which was democratic and cooperative. The primary duty was participation not patriotism. (p. 130)

Things are more complicated now than they were in 1913; Canada receives many more immigrants from non-European countries than previously. As a result, cultural differences between new immigrants and Canadian-born people are sometimes greater, and our fast-changing society can make adjust-

ment difficult. In order for immigrants to "join in the social process," both Canadian-born and newcomers should have a sense of what it means to be a citizen. The type of citizenship education offered to adult immigrants today does not begin to address participatory citizenship; without guidance and a will on the part of the federal government's Citizenship and Immigration department, the situation is likely to get worse.

Immigrants are not the only individuals who need some guidance in developing citizenship. For instance, there is evidence to suggest that the Canadian public is easily swayed by media accounts that lead them to view newcomers as an economic threat (Esses, Jackson, & Nolan, 1996), although immigrants other than British and Americans do not hold economic positions of strength compared with Canadian-born individuals (Mata, 1998).

Canada is a country of diverse regions, ethnicities, religions, and cultures; as such it has been held up as a model of peaceful integration. We can be proud of what we have, but we must also stand on guard to ensure that we do not lose what makes us most unique. Immigration and immigrants are at the heart of the Canadian reality; people come here because they want to be Canadians. We have a responsibility, therefore, to provide a means for people to learn about Canada—not just dates and names, but full-fledged discussions about the complexities and contradictions in this society.

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Curriculum, Identity, and Experience in Multicultural Teacher Education

This article reports on the initial stages of an ongoing action research project in multicultural teacher education. Operating from a view of curriculum as the creation of culturally significant domains for conversation based on principles of quality, quantity, relatedness, and manner, the project inquired into how a secondary English methods course centered on issues of cultural diversity and emerging professional identities was taken up by a cadre of predominantly white, middle-class students. The concluding discussion highlights the complexities of a social reconstructionist approach to multicultural teacher education in the absence of extending this focus across programs, coursework, and student teaching placements.

Cet article présente les stades initiaux d'un projet de recherche-action en cours sur la formation multiculturelle des enseignants. L'enquête reposait sur l'opinion selon laquelle le curriculum représente la création de domaines significatifs au niveau culturel, domaines guidés par des principes de qualité, de quantité, de rapprochement et de savoir-vivre sur lesquels s'appuieront des conversations. Ainsi, le projet a étudié la façon dont un groupe composé surtout d'élèves blancs de classe moyenne a suivi un cours d'enseignement de l'anglais au secondaire centré sur des questions de diversité culturelle et d'identités professionnelles émergeantes. La discussion finale souligne les complexités créées quand on limite l'application d'une approche basée sur la reconstruction sociale à la formation multiculturelle des enseignants, négligeant ainsi d'étendre son champ d'action aux programmes, aux curriculums et aux stages pédagogiques.

In a review of the current literature on research, practice, and policy in multicultural teacher education, Ladson-Billings (1995) concludes with the following provocation:

> Multicultural teacher education occupies a critical position between multicultural theory and multicultural practice. As the logical translator of theoretical and conceptual notions about diversity into real-world practice in the nation's classrooms, it may well be the determiner of the fate of multicultural education. (p. 756)

Ladson-Billings' (1995) position challenges teacher educators to (re)acknowledge the inescapably political nature of their work, work that in North America and elsewhere is located in institutions whose preservice programs can often lack a collective sense of purpose, especially in relation to multicul-

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tural education. Thus "To be meaningful and powerful in the life of diverse students," Ladson-Billings writes, "multicultural teacher education must confront the limitations and problems of traditional teacher education and 'business as usual'" (p. 755).

In addition to these significant tensions at the level of program, Sleeter (1995) has provided a version of what constitutes for her the personal dimensions of the challenge for white, middle-class instructors whose aims are multicultural and social reconstructionist:

> How does one involve a class of male and female white students from mainly middle class backgrounds in a critique of various forms of oppression and at the same time help them to construct for themselves insights grounded in emancipation *of other people?* (p. 416, italics in original)

Sleeter's (1995) concern springs from a sustained effort in the education literature of the last two decades to bring some conceptual clarity and practical effect to the terms *multicultural education* (Moodley, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1988) and *anti-racist education* (Brandt, 1986; Dei, 1996). Although some authors have sought to demarcate fundamental distinctions between the two (Thomas, 1984), others have suggested that they share the same basic concerns (Kehoe & Mansfield, 1993). Still others (Young & Buchanan, 1996) have combined the terms to talk of *multicultural/anti-racist* education in a manner similar to Sleeter & Grant's (1988) conceptualization of "education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist" (p. 175). This social reconstructionist perspective is premised on a recognition of structural inequalities in society based on culture, race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and disabilities and a responsibility of schools and faculties of education to contribute actively to the creation of a more just and plural society (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993).

In the context of these personal, professional, and institutional challenges, the purpose of the ongoing action research project reported in this article has been to engage with our teacher education students in exploring and elaborating on the nature of English language arts teaching and its processes in a social reconstructionist perspective on multicultural education. Central to this inquiry has been an exploration into how a view of curriculum as the creation of culturally significant domains for conversation, articulated by Applebee (1996), might operate in practice as a way of planning and delivering this preservice education course.

We undertook this action research project when our Faculty of Education had just redesigned its preservice teacher education program to a two-year after-degree model in which the field-based component was increased to constitute half of the students' time. In addition, the program endeavored to begin to develop a closer collaboration with practicing teachers and to strive for greater connections across faculty-based courses around the focus of critical and reflective practice. One immediate result was that when we met to discuss some of the ramifications of these initiatives, we were easily able to identify a mutual interest in several interconnected theoretical and practical lines of inquiry. One of us was particularly interested in grounding theoretical understandings and commitments to anti-racist education (Orlikow & Young, 1993; Young, 1995) with research into how issues of race and cultural diversity are

interpreted, negotiated, and taken up by a cadre of predominantly white, middle-class students in a curriculum and instruction (or "methods") course. The other author's involvement stemmed from his interest in narrative approaches to research and teaching (Graham, 1993, 1995) and his concern that the existing curriculum and instruction course for prospective teachers of high school English language arts was insufficiently attentive to the problems and possibilities of preparing students for the culturally diverse world of contemporary Canadian society.

In order to initiate, monitor, and document this action research project, Young acted in the capacity of a "critical friend" (McNiff, Lomax, & Whitehead, 1996, p. 84), whose role was to provide "encouragement, positive feedback and sympathetic support" (p. 85). This positive support was crucial, for it enabled Graham, the course instructor, to proceed with the almost daily task of taperecording his reflections on the events of each day's classes, reflections that included episodes of struggle and frustration as he tried teaching a course that both honored his students' real and expressed need for method and strategy, but at the same time tried to hold fast to a vision of language arts teaching for culturally diverse classrooms.

In his other role as co-researcher, Young sought and obtained ethical clearance to conduct and transcribe numerous interviews with students; as well, he amassed a voluntary collection of student learning logs and formal papers written as course assignments. In addition, at the conclusion of the school year, Young received the transcripts of Graham's reflections, documents that covered an eight-month period beginning in September 1996 and ending in March 1997.

Articulating a Framework for the Course

The task of rethinking an approach to the content and delivery of the curriculum and instruction course was greatly influenced by the work of Applebee (1996), who views curriculum construction as a way of helping students "enter into culturally significant domains for conversation" (p. 49). By stressing culturally significant domains, Applebee wishes to ensure that "education is organized around living traditions that look to the present and future as well as the past" (p. 49). With similar intent and expressed more concretely as principles for multicultural teacher education, Montecinos (1995) writes:

> A multicultural curriculum is one that allows all students, not just those who nicely fit ethnically-based descriptions, to see themselves represented in it. A multicultural curriculum is one which seeks to challenge hierarchical and oppressive relations among people who belong to different social groups ... A multicultural curriculum seeks to maintain the polyphony that characterizes a pluralistic, democratic society not just give the illusion of plurality. (p. 293)

In addition, by foregrounding the notion of a domain for conversation, Applebee (1996) wishes to ensure "that there is an emphasis on the structure and interrelatedness of ideas and experiences within a domain" (p. 49). Drawing on the work of Grice (1975) and Mayer (1990), Applebee (1996) believes that for the conversation to be effective two conditions must obtain: "all participants must honor a tacit agreement to cooperate in carrying the conversation forward" (p. 52), and that conversations will continue to work "only as long as the various

contributions are relevant to the common direction or purposes" (p. 52). In order to make provision for a curriculum that is both co-operative and effective, Applebee delineates four characteristics of effective curricular conversations having to do with the "*quality, quantity,* and *relatedness* of the topics of conversation, and the *manner* in which the conversation is carried forward" (p. 53, italics in original).

Applebee's (1996) suggestion for structuring curricular conversations was tempered by taking into account a number of local conditions and specific constraints. These had to do with the nature and extent of the students' prior life and teaching experiences, with program constraints around faculty-based coursework and with the well-documented findings on the impact of the practicum on preservice teachers' attitudes and dispositions (Zeichner & Liston, 1990). In addition, Britzman's (1991) work reinforced an appreciation for a complicating fact running parallel across the university and the school as sites of teaching and learning that the students' sense of themselves as emerging professionals was highly volatile and contradictory because they are both students and teachers at the same time, a liminal existence that often proves difficult for many students to inhabit successfully.

In addition, although Applebee (1996) believes that curricular domains "have a shape and structure that is planned rather than accidental" (p. 109), the instructor wanted to leave sufficient room for spontaneous changes in direction, for the discourse conventions to be flexible enough so that the students did not receive the impression that their conversations had to lead them to a narrowly predetermined goal. The intention was to construct a curriculum that contained material and experiences consistent with Applebee's concerns for culturally significant conversations of high quality and quantity, conversations that would honor method, but method consciously informed by theory. Central issues of relatedness and manner were addressed through efforts to establish conditions where personal connections could be made and pursued as the students moved from their faculty-based deliberations as a form of "dramatic rehearsal" (Dewey, 1939, p. 755) to the everyday realities of classroom life.

In order to initiate this process at the beginning of the school year, the students were provided with two articles on the problems and possibilities of introducing and teaching multicultural literature in high school (Beach, 1995; Fishman, 1995). Fishman explores the dilemmas of a white middle-class female teacher trying to move toward curricular selections that more adequately represent the culturally diverse backgrounds of her students, whereas Beach (1995) explores how all readers of literature inevitably read through their own "cultural scripts" (p. 87). These articles were selected to focus the preservice students' attention on the intersection of race, class, and culture (their own and their future students') as these might affect their professional roles as curriculum developers. It was also intended that these readings would make visible the contingent aspects of the preservice classroom itself as a site of power, negotiation, and resistance, a "hall of mirrors" (Schön, 1987, p. 253) wherein what is talked about is at the same time experienced.

The students also kept a learning log to enable them to think through at greater length some of what transpired in their time in class together; as well,

the students were asked to write a paper on a topic of their own choice using the conversations that were left "dangling" in the classroom as potential points of departure. Finally, the two initial class meetings after the first practicum block were set aside as a time for collective reflection and debriefing. By making their experiences both in the curriculum and instruction course and in the practicum problematic in these ways, a conscious effort was made to operate in the social reconstructionist tradition, a tradition "'that emphasizes teachers' abilities to see the social and political implications of their actions and to assess their actions and the social contexts in which they are carried out'" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 749).

Working in association with these readings and assignments, issues of relatedness and manner were pursued in the class by the instructor's commitment to revisit continually how the themes of culture and identity made themselves manifest in classroom conversations around the craft of teaching and the nature of curriculum as a social and political construct. In addition, classroom talk made consistent demands on the students to justify continually and open up to rebuttal their own presuppositions around the nature of curriculum, culture, and teaching with a view to developing a more thoughtful personal framework for practice.

What follows in the two sections below is a series of excerpts taken from the transcripts of the instructor's reflections, from student learning logs, and from interview data with students. By devoting a separate section to classroom events that occurred pre- and postpracticum, we provide a sense of how the curriculum was understood and taken up in the changing discursive conventions of the classroom, as well as comment on the influence of the practicum in the students' overall experiences. In the concluding section we begin a discussion of what these data suggest about rethinking the conditions of possibility for multicultural teacher education curriculum.

Pre-Practicum Conversations as Dramatic Rehearsal

Applebee (1996), in explaining how different kinds of classroom structures tend "to support or inhibit the development of conversation" (p. 67), makes the distinction between the formal, the enacted, and the received curriculum. The formal curriculum is represented "in lesson plans, syllabi and textbooks" (p. 68); the enacted curriculum represents "the transformations that take place" in the teacher's and students' "interactions around the formal curriculum" (p. 68); whereas the received curriculum "reflects how students make sense of the curricular conversations in which they are engaged" (p. 68).

The following excerpts have been selected to dramatize the tensions in the classroom dynamic as the formal curriculum was enacted and received by both students and instructor alike. Although no claims can be made that the students' voices represent the opinions of the majority, they are included here for their typicality and for the way they forced us to challenge many of our own prior assumptions, pedagogical practices, and political investments. The first selection reports on a moment of instructional improvisation that, although spontaneous, was enacted in the spirit of the instructor's general aims for the class. It served to highlight our concern with engaging students in the idea of teaching as cultural work and of moving beyond issues simply of method to

issues of method theorized around Applebee's (1996) notion of big ideas. The example here centers around how English teachers as curriculum developers both censor themselves and are censored in their choice of literary selections in schools that are simultaneously contradictory sites of personal agency and institutional constraint.

Instructor's Notes, September 11, 1996

> I had asked six students to bring along copies of poems that they thought would extend or enhance previous work we'd done in class. By 10 o'clock two of the students hadn't shown up, so at the last moment I photocopied two poems from my resource pile and took them instead. One of the poems I chose was a poem in translation entitled "Mother" by the Japanese poet Nagase Kiyoko. Roughly speaking, the poem was about the ambivalence in the term "mother" in the sense that the poem challenges the traditional image of a mother as always a nurturing, self-sacrificing caregiver. For the group that was working on this poem, it became a catalyst for them to talk about the cultural construction of motherhood and the discussion this group pursued was about why they would or would not use this piece of literature in the class. I certainly wanted to encourage this discussion, so when the groups had more or less finished I made a point of bringing it up for class consideration. You could see instantly how this particular poem and the issues it represented began to polarize the class in very interesting ways. Some said, No, look, this poem is about politics and power; if this poem ever landed on somebody's dinner table there would be phone calls to the school about what are you doing here giving a poem that questions the nature of motherhood. Another said, I'd have to check with my head of department before I would attempt this. Others said, this is ridiculous, what are we protecting our students from? Let's get this material into the class in as sensitive a manner as we can and work with it. Others thought it was a poor choice of curriculum because it seemed to be beyond the capacities of its intended audience, which was a hypothetical grade 7 or 8 class. Others totally disagreed, saying that these kids have grown up so quickly this is not problematic for any students. Many students thought that a piece of curriculum that pried into the personal autobiographies of the students was an intrusive use of curriculum; others felt that's what language arts and a multicultural class is all about. We put big terms like *mother* and *fear* and *war*, all these big abstract terms on the table and see what writers have thought about them. I emphasized that, as a professional decision-maker, they're going to have to negotiate the nature, extent, and depth of their professional identities pretty much daily around something apparently as simple as the choice of a poem to work with in class.... So I invited the students to take some time to reflect in their learning logs on our conversation and to provide a personal response to it.

Learning Log Entry, White Male Student, early 20s

> The issue of "academic freedom" regarding the teacher's right to select curricula to teach was raised by a group that looked at the above poem. The questions raised were, "is a Grade 7 class mature enough to handle this?" and "will I run into trouble from parents who think this is inappropriate because of the images and emotions it evokes"—in short, "should I teach this or run away from it?"
>
> The question of whether a grade 7 class is ready for this in my view, is more legitimate as a deciding factor than the others. Our job as teachers is not only to teach English but to "teach life." Kids have to know that there are other ways of living; that not everyone exists in the same sort of arrangement that holds for

them. If we present poems on, for example, the family, which portray only the "nuclear" family, what message will that send to someone being raised by a single parent?

Situations, images, and emotions other than the neat and tidy Little-House-on-the-Prairie-style model that some people would advocate as appropriate for instruction certainly exist, and I believe it is our duty to make students aware of this fact. If you teach only "morally correct" materials, this is the same as censoring books that deal with controversial issues such as teenage sex or drug use. Denying something does not make it go away, but by shedding some light on an issue, it can be opened up and understood by students. Likewise, we should not be afraid to teach something that originates from a moral or political position with which we either strongly agree or disagree. The key is to teach such concepts from the closest thing to an unbiased position as is possible so that a particular view is not "pushed" on the students.

These comments found their origin in a moment that was unique and particular to that class, to that time, and to those circumstances as Schwab (1969) has informed us all curricular events are; consequently, a similar conversation did not occur in the other section of the same course. However, classroom time was set aside for both sections to respond to the articles by Fishman (1995) and Beach (1995), texts that were part of the formal curriculum and included to make problematic for both sets of students issues regarding culture, literature, and teaching, which had already emerged in one section as documented above. What follows are brief selections from the instructor's reconstruction of events in both sections, as well as learning log entries from two students, one from each section of the course.

Instructor's Notes, October 2, 1996

Beach's piece on cultural models provoked a lot of discussion. One person said, what about bringing in copies of a pretty violent rap piece like "Cop Killer," to which another replied that I guess we're back to talking about goals again ... Another said, what would I be using this for anyway?—to show how a minority cultural group is misrepresented, to show how they're feeling emotionally about being abused by authority? ... Well, said another student, if by teaching only what my co-operating teacher approves of or that you think is not going to stir up any waves in the larger community, and knowing what we know of the fact that people read whatever it is through their own set of cultural models, you cannot keep cultural models out of the classroom no matter how much you think you are only engaging with "approved" literature.... One student said that it's clear that if you take this cultural model idea and try to honor the diversity of the class, no text can be ideologically neutral, and so when the teacher limits in what direction the discussion and inquiries will go that's also the political use of power and knowledge.

Learning Log Entry, White Male Student, Early 20s

By cultural models, Beach implies the norms, outlooks, and way of life of different social groups ... The argument is that members of one group will read a piece in one way, usually quite different from the meaning that someone from another group will get from it. But this, for me, has one glaring weakness. Beach seems to imply that all members of a group, e.g., the "African-American male cultural model" hold the same values and read texts the same way. Even worse is his description of the attitudes of inner-city youths. These characterizations

seem like cultural stereotypes and go against most of what I've been taught in four years of university education.

Learning Log Entry, White Female, Early 30s

I don't think the cultural models are black and white and no one particularly fits into one cultural model. Categorizing people also assigns stereotypical behavior to them.... Students should be made aware that their cultural models could change as their goals in life change. Learning about a stereotypical cultural model may be disheartening or make the student feel trapped in a hopeless situation with no future.

At the present time as our Faculty of Education shifts from one model of preservice education to a new one, it is only in this the final year of their program that students have the opportunity to experience a sustained block of teaching under the guidance of a cooperating teacher and a faculty advisor. Most students regard this as the most important and valuable part of their program; and although many will have had some prior voluntary teaching experience, for the preservice teacher this is the litmus test of their ability to do the job. All of their Faculty-based work prior to the first teaching block is, as we note above, dramatic rehearsal, and after completing the block these experiences become the new lenses through which all subsequent coursework is scrutinized and evaluated.

Post-Practicum Reflections

Instructor's Notes, January 6, 1997

I just wanted to put down for the record some of the notes I made today after the students had a chance to talk about their experiences in the practicum. One major point was that they were very much intimidated by their cooperating teachers.... Many said that the whole experience of the five-week block was overwhelming in the sense that everything happened at once. Discipline problems, meetings about students, preparing for the next class when you didn't understand what just happened in the class you just did.... The stories of the students that came out of the secondary stream were of gossiping and backbiting and of departmental jealousies and of principals who were unapproachable, very much like Dan Lortie found out in the 70s.... Secondary teaching is a very isolating kind of thing where you rarely speak with other departments across the school and there's a kind of continual struggle for scarce resources.... Nobody mentioned issues of race, culture, or gender; I mean nobody mentioned any of those issues. I didn't bring it up because I wanted to see if it would come up, but all they were worried about was accountability issues ... I asked them what they had taught their students and if their views of literacy had changed at all. They said we tried this and we tried that, but the act of teaching didn't seem to be something that was of overwhelming importance. It seemed like none of that could happen unless other things like discipline were in place.

White Male Student, mid-20s

When I tried to do what I thought I wanted to do from our curriculum and instruction course, it wasn't what the co-operating teacher wanted me to do.... I often was the only Caucasian in the room when I was teaching and yet the staff room is full of Caucasians, there wasn't a Filipino teacher there yet 60% of the school's kids were Filipino. Stuff like that I noticed.... For me the student teaching block was my year's experience—hands on learning. I had been in university for

> a long time—this sounds unfair to Dr. Graham's class and it doesn't mean his class wasn't good—but student teaching was something I knew nothing about. Student teaching became everything. It's not really anybody's fault, but you are changed ... you are different after your student teaching, your view of teaching changes completely.... What you have to do then is every single year find out what ethnic backgrounds and racial backgrounds they have and then you basically give them one or two things that reflect their backgrounds and then you head off with Macbeth.

White Female Student, Late 20s

> I did some travelling shortly after I graduated from high school, and I had multicultural experiences in the Fijian islands, and I lived in a dung hut. I did all that when I was 18 and I was pretty young and I was pretty impressionable I guess. And then from that time on it became important for me to learn about world cultures and I thought I might want to travel or teach overseas. I would write in my journal stuff like how I don't want to be a part of an oppressive class or whatever ... and I wrote it in papers. I even wrote Roy a paper about literacy and does literacy mean that the lower classes can only learn how to read and punch a clock from a factory, and who owns language and who owns the discourse of power? I could talk on and on about that. But then all of a sudden, I'm in a classroom picking out a book that is excluding everybody in the class. And then I am being so oppressive and I felt so terrible. And that's where I'm learning stuff. This was a turning point for me.

Discussion

The early stage of our research project reported here does not provide much in the way of neat prescription to the question "What is multicultural English teaching?" or more pointedly, "How do I prepare others to do multicultural English teaching?" Rather, our research serves to highlight not only a number of interrelated tensions associated with a project of this kind, but also suggests to us some elements necessary to using Applebee's (1996) notion of quality conversation in a social reconstructionist approach to multicultural education. Included among the foregoing tensions would be: (a) the consequences for quality conversations given the narrow ethnocultural diversity in this preservice classroom itself; (b) the ambiguity and contradictions in the instructor's role around ideas of authority; and (c) the potentially limited nature of conversations if they take place only in the framework of one preservice course.

Despite the relative homogeneity of the students in this class, their perspectives included in this article challenge any simplistic notions that their experience of, and thinking about, culture is equally homogeneous. On the contrary, the varied backgrounds and experiences of the students regarding issues of culture provided a rich source for the kinds of quality conversations that Applebee's work seeks to provide. Nevertheless, as our work-in-progress indicates (Graham & Young, 1998), such conversations that take place without cross-cultural representation and participation—student and faculty—are likely to be limited in their range, quality, and immediacy. Further evidence of the importance of representation, as well as one picture of what integrated multicultural teacher education in Canada might look like, is beginning to emerge in the work of Solomon (1996).

For an instructor one of the major contradictions in making provision for quality conversations, conversations that we argue lie close to the heart of

effective teaching, is that they are largely "one-off": they can neither be completely planned in advance, orchestrated by the instructor, nor replicated from class to class. However, we are convinced that these conversations need to occur and to be guided by notions of quality, quantity, relatedness, and manner, as well as a central appreciation for an image of public school teachers as emancipatory cultural workers with all of the tensions and uncertainties associated with that role.

Our research to date reinforces the notion that for instructor and students alike this work is invariably disruptive and disorienting; it is teaching and learning "against the grain" (Simon, 1992). Instructors in particular must be willing to reevaluate constantly and reconsider the impact of their own manner, style, and attitude in the shifting configurations of authority and power in the classroom (Shor, 1996). The constant effort to theorize a concept of praxis that references the dual themes of cultural diversity and emerging teacher identities makes both problematic and personal everyday matters of curriculum development, classroom practice, and school and university structures.

For faculties of education the frequent lack of integration across students' coursework and, critically, integration with their initial preservice teaching experiences would seem to limit the possibilities of success in creating an identity as a competent multicultural teacher. Creating this identity remains in large part an individual student project that may or may not be supported by coursework, instructors, cooperating teachers, and the culture of the schools in which they complete their student teaching placements. It is this lack of cohesion and political edge that Ghosh (1996) laments when she considers the superficial nature of change in teacher education in North America. However, she, like us, derives a sense of possibility from how a general discourse of change has "prompted discussion on how to make teacher education multicultural by focusing on teacher educators themselves " (p. 87).

If teacher educators are inclined to accept that at least part of the fate of multicultural education will be closely linked with teacher education, and hence with the attitudes and practices of those who teach the teachers, then inquiring into the realities that constitute our own professional identities should be as important as the expectation that our students explore their own emerging identities as professionals. The significance for us of our initial data is to underscore the importance of extending our conceptualization of multicultural teacher education to include quality conversations with local teachers and colleagues working in all dimensions of our preservice teacher education program.

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Questions in a Research Setting

Because closed-ended (multiple-choice) questioning formats are often used in educational research, it is important to understand how presenting response options can affect the data obtained. In this study children and adults answered questions in an open-ended condition or one of two closed-ended conditions where options were either likely or unlikely. Participants who were presented with unlikely response options generated their own responses more often than participants who were presented with likely response options. On the other hand, children were more likely than adults to choose the presented response options regardless of how unlikely they were. These findings have important research implications; response options for closed-ended data collection devices must be selected carefully to reflect real-world possibilities.

Étant donné que l'on emploie souvent des questionnaires sous forme de questions fermées (à choix multiples) dans la recherche en éducation, il est important de comprendre comment la présentation du choix de réponses peut influencer les données ainsi obtenues. Les enfants et les adultes qui ont participé à cette étude ont répondu soit à des questions ouvertes, soit à des questions fermées où les choix de réponses étaient probables ou improbables. Les participants à qui on avait présenté des choix de réponses improbables ont produit leurs propres réponses plus souvent que ceux à qui on avait présenté des choix de réponses probables. Par ailleurs, les enfants étaient plus portés que les adultes à choisir les réponses proposées, indépendamment de leur improbabilité. Ces résultats ont des implications importantes pour la recherche: dans la collecte de données, il est important de bien formuler les choix de réponses aux questions fermées pour qu'ils constituent des possibilités réalistes.

Questionnaires are increasingly being used in educational research. They are relatively simple and efficient to administer and score, and they allow for standardized data collection. As with any data collection device, however, questionnaires have the potential to provide misleading, incomplete, or even incorrect information about the research questions for which they were designed.

Schwarz (1996) reviewed a large number of questionnaire studies and concluded that the range of presented response alternatives in questionnaires can greatly influence the data that are obtained. For example, Schwarz, Hippler, Deutsch, and Strack (1985) found that the range of response categories provided in a closed-ended (multiple-choice) question format influenced both the

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behavioral reports obtained and their subsequent judgments. Participants in one condition reported their daily use of television on a scale that ranged from up to 30 minutes to more than two and a half hours, whereas those in another condition used a rating scale that ranged from up to two and a half hours to more than four and a half hours. Participants in the second condition reported a higher use of television and estimated a higher average use of television than the participants in the first condition. Schwarz et al. (1985) argued that the participants used the presented response alternatives to estimate the average amount of television viewed and subsequently placed their own television-viewing behavior within this framework.

Schwarz's (1996; Schwarz et al., 1985) research reinforces the idea that participants use presented response alternatives to interpret the meaning of a question. Consequently, questions that are worded in an identical manner may be interpreted by research participants in different ways because different response options are presented to them. The range of presented responses can influence the results that are obtained because participants may assume that the responses reflect the researcher's assumptions about the distribution of behavior in the general population. Hence participants may use the information provided to estimate their own behavior in a way that is socially desirable in relation to the behavior of the general population.

In contrast to the vast quantity of research that has been conducted with adults, little research has been done with child populations. Exploring the impact that presented response alternatives has on children is important. After all, in the research setting children are often placed in a new situation in which they must interact with a stranger (Powell & Vacha-Haase, 1994). Without the security of having a parent by their side, children may become nervous and/or apprehensive. Thus when authority figures present response options to children in the experimental procedure, children may be more likely to choose a presented option because they think these are the responses that the researcher would like to hear.

Developmental differences may also play a role in how children respond to response options. For instance, Powell and colleagues (Powell, 1968; Powell & Isbister, 1974; Powell & Shklov, 1992) suggested that a developmental reasoning hierarchy exists. By examining the mistakes that children and adults made in response to multiple-choice tests, these researchers found that when children could not retrieve a specific answer from memory, they employed different thinking strategies to select an answer. What thinking strategy a child uses depends on his or her age. For instance, Powell and Shklov (1992) found that 10-year-old children used the literal meaning of a phrase, whereas 12-year-old children used the figurative meaning. To explore the possibility that children and adults are differentially affected by response options, we tested both adults and children.

In addition to the need for more research exploring the influence of both qualitatively different response options and developmental differences, more research is also needed to compare the responses from open-ended and closed-ended questions. There was a huge controversy over the use of open-ended and closed-ended questions in the 1930s and 1940s. In more recent years, however, comparisons of open-ended and closed-ended questions have often

been based on common sense rather than on support from existing research in this area (Schuman & Presser, 1981). Thus research directly comparing the results obtained from open-ended and closed-ended questions is needed.

The goals of this study were to explore how the likelihood of response options affects children and university students, as well as whether the mere presence of response options influences reporting by children and university students. Children in grade 3 were selected because they are capable of reporting on their behavior (Siegler, 1991) but may be young enough to be influenced by the experimental setting. This research is important because researchers are beginning to rely more on standardized procedures and closed-ended methods for efficiently collecting large amounts of information from research participants. Questionnaires are being used to collect interest, attitude, and self-reported behavior information from children, adolescents, and adults in many different areas ranging from informal classroom interest surveys and multiple-choice tests to published research reports (Macmillan, Liu, & Timmons, 1997; McEwen, 1998).

Our experimental task involved immediate retrospective reporting of spelling strategies. We had participants spell words and then report their spelling strategies in one of three conditions. In the open-ended condition participants derived their own spelling strategies in order to answer the question "How did you know how to spell the word that way?" In two closed-ended conditions the participants were asked the same question and then were presented with a series of response options. In the likely condition participants were presented with likely spelling strategy options, whereas in the unlikely condition participants were presented with unlikely spelling strategies. The participants in the closed-ended conditions were also given the option to generate their own answer. This latter option was provided so that none of the participants was forced to choose any particular response, thus allowing for a comparison of the responses to all three conditions.

We chose a spelling task that has been extensively investigated (Steffler, Varnhagen, Boechler, Friesen, & Taylor, 1997; Steffler, Varnhagen, Friesen, & Treiman, 1998). As well, we used nonword stimuli (e.g., *smag*) to ensure that all the participants had similar exposure to the words regardless of their differing experiences with words and/or their age. The use of nonwords also allowed participants to use a wider diversity of spelling strategies. Because the participants usually were not able to retrieve the words from memory directly, they had to use spelling strategies such as sounding out the words or comparing them to other words that they were familiar with. We used the strategy reports from Steffler et al. (1997) to develop the response options for the two closed-ended conditions. Drawing specific spelling strategies from preestablished categories allowed us to ensure that response options presented in the closed-ended conditions were matched on all dimensions except for likeliness.

Method

Participants

The participants were 60 grade 3 children and 66 introductory psychology students. All the participants were native English speakers.

Table 1
An Example of the Likely and Unlikely Options for the Word *smag*

Option	*Strategy*	*Condition* *Likely*	*Unlikely*
"a"	Direct retrieval	I knew the word *smag*	I knew the word *smag* because it is a game that I used to play when I was younger
"b"	Analogy	It sounded like the word *smog* with an "a" instead of the "o"	It sounded like the word *mag* with an "s" in front of it
"c"	Segmentation	I sounded it out like "sm - ag"	I sounded it out like "sma-mag"
"d"	Generated	I spelled it another way: Participant provides another strategy	I spelled it another way: Participant provides another strategy

Materials

The spelling test consisted of 32 four-letter nonwords (e.g., *smag, dasp*) used by Steffler et al. (1997). Table 1 shows the options provided in the likely and unlikely conditions for the example *smag*. In all cases, option "a" represented direct retrieval, option "b" an analogy strategy, option "c" a segmentation strategy, and option "d" an open-ended option in which the participant could express some other strategy used. The likely condition options were constructed from the commonly reported strategies in Steffler et al. (1997). The unlikely condition options were not observed by Steffler et al. and were also constructed to represent inconsistent strategies. For example, the unlikely segmentation option written for *smag* included repetition of parts of the nonword. Similarly, the analogy option makes reference to a "word" that is really a nonword.

Procedure

Participants were tested individually and were informed that they could leave the experiment at any point in time.

Two practice trials identical to the experimental trials allowed the participants to become familiar with the task. The participant listened to a word, heard it in the context of a sentence, listened to the word again (e.g., "smag. The little smag rolled down the hill. smag."). The participant then typed the word on a computer. After spelling each word, the participant was probed for the spelling strategy used.

In the two closed-ended conditions, the participant was presented orally with a series of spelling strategies in the standard multiple-choice format. The participant was instructed to choose one of the options or generate a strategy for the word. In the likely condition the participant selected an answer from a series of likely spelling strategies or described another strategy; in the unlikely condition the participant chose from a presented series of unlikely spelling strategies or described a technique that was not already presented as an option. In the open-ended condition the participant was merely prompted to report his or her spelling strategy.

Coding

To determine whether the likeliness of the presented options influenced responding, only the data from the closed-ended conditions were used. For this analysis the frequency with which options "a," "b," "c," and "d" were chosen was calculated for each participant and the mean frequency of each option was calculated for each group and condition.

To determine whether specific spelling strategies were influenced by the presence of response options, data from the three conditions were coded according to spelling strategy categories. Most of the data could be coded as direct retrieval, analogy, or segmentation. Overall, few responses did not fit into one of these three categories; these were not included in the analysis. Two researchers independently coded the data, and the overall reliability of the coding was 99.4%. The frequency of each strategy category was determined for each participant and mean frequency for each category was determined for each group and condition.

Results

To address our question of whether the likelihood of response options influences participants' responses, we analyzed frequency of responses to the four options with a two between-subjects (Group and Condition) by one within-subject (Option) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA). There was a main effect of Option, $F(3, 240)=56.99$, $p<.05$. According to Tukey's honestly significant difference (HSD) post hoc analyses, option "d" (generated strategy: $M=15.9$, $SD=10.3$) was chosen most often, followed by option "c" (segmentation: $M=10.0$, $SD=9.4$), option "b" (analogy: $M=4.9$, $SD=5.1$), and option "a" (direct retrieval: $M=1.1$, $SD=3.5$) was chosen least often, $HSD=2.16$, $p<.05$.

Option interacted with Condition, $F(3, 240)=21.18$, $p<.05$, and with Group, $F(3, 240)=3.44$, $p<.05$. Participants in the likely condition ($M=13.9$, $SD=9.7$) selected option "c" (segmentation) more often than participants in the unlikely condition ($M=6.0$, $SD=7.3$); conversely, participants in the unlikely condition ($M=21.1$, $SD=9.4$) selected option "d" (generated strategy) more often than participants in the likely condition ($M=10.5$, $SD=8.2$), $HSD=4.42$, $p<.05$. Similarly, regardless of what condition they were in, adults ($M=18.0$, $SD=10.1$) selected option "d" more often than children ($M=13.6$, $SD=10.1$), $HSD=4.42$, $p<.05$.

The three-way interaction between Group, Option, and Condition, $F(3, 240)=2.79$, $p<.05$, is shown in Figure 1. Adults and children did not differ in terms of responding to the likely options, but they did differ in how they chose the unlikely options. As shown in Figure 1, adults in the unlikely response condition were statistically significantly more likely to choose option "d" (generated strategy) than children, $HSD=7.07$, $p<.05$. These results demonstrate a differential effect of the likelihood of options on responding by child and adult participants in an experimental setting; children are more willing to accept one of the presented options even if it is an unlikely option.

To address our question of whether the mere presence of options can influence responding, we analyzed general strategy responses from the three experimental conditions with a two between-subjects (Group and Condition) by one within-subject (Option) repeated measures ANOVA. There was a main effect of Strategy, $F(2, 240)=84.59$, $p<0.05$; overall, analogy ($M=15.8$, $SD=9.8$)

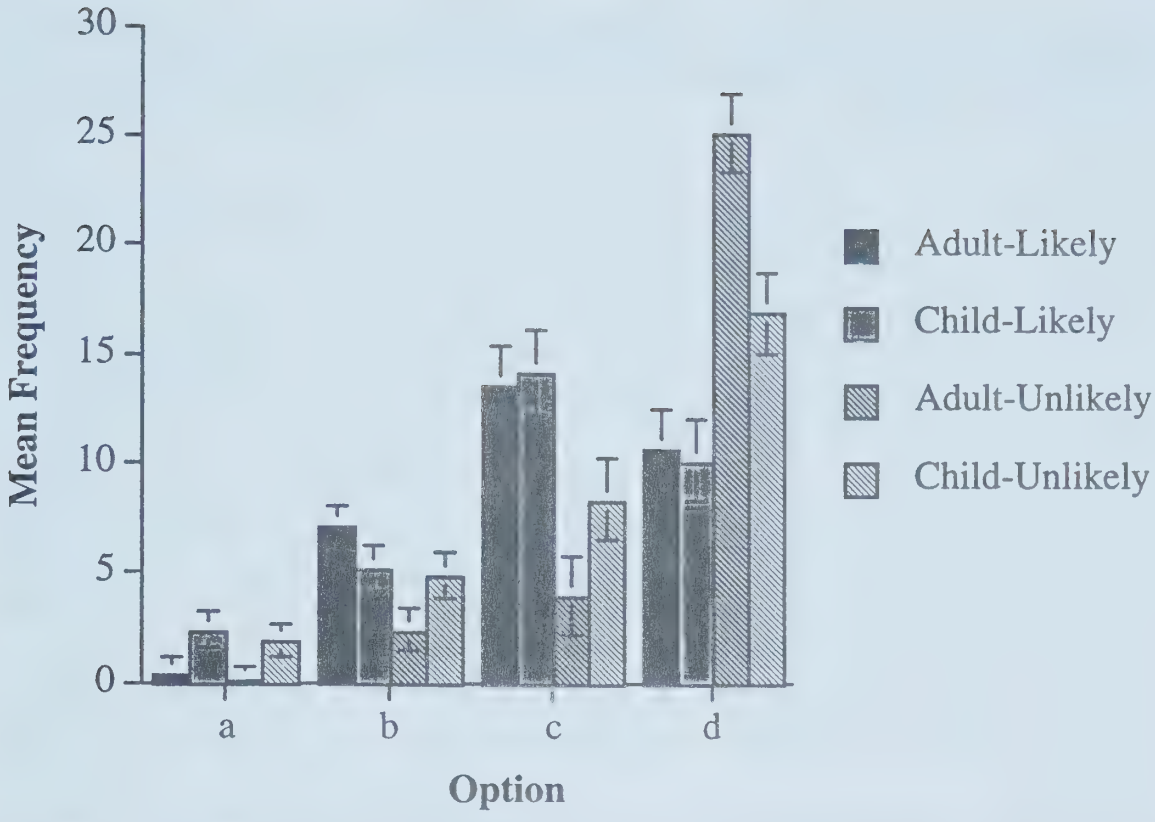

Figure 1. Mean frequency of responses to the four options by adults and children in the likely and unlikely conditions.

and segmentation (M=14.4, SD=9.9) were reported equally frequently and more often than direct retrieval (M=1.3, SD=3.4), HSD=2.01, p<.05.

There was a significant interaction between Option and Condition, $F(4, 240)=84.59$, $p<0.05$. Participants in the unlikely condition (M=19.0, SD=7.9) reported an analogy strategy more often than participants in the likely (M=13.7, SD=9.9) or open-ended (M=14.4, SD=10.9) conditions; conversely, participants in the likely (M=15.9, SD=9.9) and open-ended (M = 16.4, SD=10.8) conditions were more likely to report a segmentation strategy than participants in the unlikely condition (M=11.0, SD=8.0), HSD=4.66, p<.05. This finding may be associated with likeliness of the options in the unlikely condition: close examination of the segmentation strategies constructed for the unlikely condition in this study may have been more unlikely than the analogy strategies. Although the unlikely analogy strategies were somewhat ridiculous and never observed by Steffler et al. (1997), they were possible (e.g., *smag* is like *mag* with an *s* in front of it). The unlikely segmentation strategies, on the other hand, were phonologically incorrect. That is, the strategies presented did not accurately represent the phonemes of the nonwords. An example of a segmentation strategy used in the unlikely condition was *sma-mag*. Because the *ma* sound was repeated, the nonword represented by this strategy was actually *smamag* rather than *smag*. Thus the presentation of segmentation strategies that were more unlikely than the analogy strategies may have contributed to the use of more analogy strategies than segmentation strategies in the unlikely condition.

There was an interaction between Option and Group, $F(2, 240)=4.99$, $p<0.05$. Although children used analogy (M=13.6, SD=11.0) and segmentation strategies (M=16.2, SD=11.2) at a comparable frequency, adults used analogy strategies (M=17.8, SD=8.3) significantly more than segmentation strategies

(M=12.9, SD=8.3), HSD=4.89, p<.05. This finding that adults report analogy more than phonological segmentation strategies is consistent with the findings of Steffler et al. (1998).

Discussion

Our results indicate that the presence of response options in a research setting influences how participants respond. Both adults and children who were presented with likely options were more likely to choose them than participants who were presented with unlikely options. On the other hand, children were more likely than adults to accept the unlikely options as representing the strategies they used to spell the nonwords. Thus the likeliness of the response options appears to influence the responses that are obtained from children versus adult research participants. These findings extend the work by Schwartz and his colleagues (Schwarz, 1996; Schwarz & Hippler, 1991; Schwartz et al., 1985) to demonstrate that children are even more sensitive than adults to response options in an experimental setting.

The findings from our study have important implications for research methodology. Researchers need to acknowledge that how research is conducted may affect the results that they obtain. One caution involves the combination of closed-ended options with an open-ended option. The participants in our study were more inclined to choose a presented option than to generate their own answers. Rather than relying on the ubiquitous "other" option in questionnaires to pick up any accidentally omitted responses, researchers need to develop a better understanding of what responses are possible before writing a questionnaire or other closed-ended data collection device.

At the same time, researchers must also be wary of including only closed-ended questions because of the danger of question constraint. This occurs when the options presented to the participants are restricted and participants work in the framework of the presented response alternatives (Schwarz & Hippler, 1991). When the goal of research is to discover how or why something is done, it is crucial for participants to generate their own answers with as few experimental prompts as possible so that the data generated are valid and truly reflect the beliefs of the participants. This is particularly important when conducting research in an area that is not yet well established.

The findings from this study also have implications for research with children. The children in this study were more likely to choose presented options than were adults. More important, the children tended to choose even unlikely options. This implies that children may be more inclined to choose the options presented by the researcher regardless of how likely or unlikely the responses may be. Researchers working with children must be careful to present response options that are representative of responses that would be obtained in an open-ended situation.

Overall, our research supports the notion that context plays an important role in the experimental setting. It is important for researchers to recognize that the experimental setting itself may influence the results that are obtained as much as whatever the participants bring to the setting or the experimenter manipulates in the setting. In particular, researchers need to be cautious when deciding whether to use closed-ended questions. By being aware of the poten-

tial advantages and disadvantages of particular question formats, researchers can make more informed choices about the question format that may be most effective for their purposes.

Acknowledgment

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Research Notes: Guidelines

The *Note* should report briefly on the author's/authors' research-in-progress or recently completed research and should feature work that has not been reported elsewhere in journal publications. This current work should be situated, briefly, in the context of other pertinent scholarship, including the author's or authors' related research. The focus of the *Note* could be either a specific study or inquiry or an overview of an ongoing line of inquiry where fuller reporting of results will not occur in print for some time. The maximum length for a *Note* is 1,000 words (about 4 double-spaced pages in standard 12-point type), excluding references and one or two tables or graphs. To encourage communication between researchers, authors of *Research Notes* are asked to provide contact information such as e-mail, fax, and/or telephone numbers for publication with each *Note.* No abstract is required, but in all other respects the usual **ajer** guidelines for manuscripts should be observed.

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Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits

Purpose
This article reports on research in progress, the purpose of which is to examine the personal and professional experiences of faculty members from different universities and colleges in North America and abroad after they engage in academic visits and exchanges at other institutions of higher learning. The researchers are based at two United States and two Israeli institutions, but the visits and exchanges that flow into and out of these four institutions widen the field to include Canada, Africa, and the United Kingdom. We are also actively engaged in the solicitation of other participants through professional contacts and conferences. The goal of the research is to bring to light the difficulties, challenges, and rewards professional visits and exchanges involve, with the aim of making such experiences more productive. Improving the quality of faculty visits and exchanges can benefit the visitor, the host institution, and the visitor's home institution to which he or she will return, as well as contributing to intercultural understanding.

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Perspectives

Most institutions of higher learning see a steady stream of visiting faculty, who may come to engage in cooperative research, teach a summer course, take on a full load of teaching duties, or spend a fairly relaxed sabbatical semester or year. This practice is likely not only to continue but to increase, as national and cultural borders become more fluid and international travel and communication become the norm. This dimming of borders can bring both benefits and challenges. De Frankrijker (1997) writes

> Economic climate and technological developments have set the world in a perspective moving toward one metropolis. It will be a long and hard road to find an adequate balance in combining these integrative economic forces with political and sociocultural differences. In this process, conflict rather than harmony is never far away. Above political and cultural vision, communication and management will determine how (un)successful we will be in making this global perspective in creative and peaceful ways. (p. 659)

To help nurture harmony and learning, and to prevent conflict as much as possible, the move to a "global consciousness" (Shames, 1997) must be studied at the personal and professional level of the increasing number of intercultural travelers. Study of the professional and personal dimensions of academic visits and exchanges should be one of the cornerstones of this field of research.

There are several areas of related research. One large study of preservice teachers' overseas practicum experiences (Mahan & Stachowski, 1994) showed that US preservice teachers' concerns about classroom management, lesson planning, and instructional strategies were similar in US and overseas classrooms. This means that despite cultural differences the students saw the classroom setting as similar from place to place. As well, the overseas experience made students focus critically on their professional preparedness and broadened their perspective on schools, teaching, and students.

In Israel researchers have investigated the experiences of immigrant teachers as they adjust to teaching in a new situation (Horowitz, 1985). Research on immigrant teachers may address some issues similar to those visitors face, but the emphasis will be different for a teacher who must adjust permanently to a new situation than for one who intends to return home after a specified time. Indeed one of the best-developed areas of this field of interest centers on the difficulties faced by intercultural travelers, including scholars, on reentry to their home culture (Martin & Rohrlich, 1991).

Research on teachers' value orientations between cultures may also provide some useful information in terms of shared values, which may be areas of comfort during a visit or exchange, and markedly different values, which are likely to lead to conflict or at least discomfort (Chen, Liu, & Ennis, 1997).

As bastions of technical rationality, universities have not encouraged reflective interaction between faculty members (Schön, 1983). This no doubt affects the experience of visiting faculty because, as Fullan (1982) has written in the context of educational change, "Interaction is the primary basis for social learning" (p. 72). Visiting faculty members come to contribute and also to learn. The more isolated they are, the less fruitful for everyone their visit is likely to be.

Finally, although Kauffman, Martin, and Weaver (1992) state that six months in a different culture is the minimum amount of time necessary to produce real changes in a person, results of the present study show that shorter visits can also give educators a basis for comparison with their home situation and a chance to develop new professional relationships, as well as being an impetus to the development of new ideas.

Method

Faculty members from any university or college are eligible to participate in the study according to the following criteria:

1. The visit or exchange is at least one week in duration.
2. It involves at least one official professional activity such as teaching a course or engaging in collaborative research.

Data are being collected through a semistructured questionnaire or through an interview of similar content, depending on the preference and convenience of each respondent. The questionnaire and the interview are available in Hebrew for the Israeli respondents, and these data are then translated into English. Questions are asked in a number of categories.

1. Background information: professional history and nature of the visit;
2. Experiences, difficulties and challenges of the visit—physical and working conditions, financial arrangements, friendship and social relationships, and family;
3. Cultural conditions: similarities and differences;
4. Professional conditions: administrative support, research, teaching (including comparison of students in the two countries and adjustments in teaching style);
5. Visits to schools: similarities, differences, and preconceived notions about schools in the host country;
6. Description of a critical incident that marked a turning point in the visit;
7. Description of how professional practice, professional knowledge, academic activities, and personal awareness and values have been affected.

Preliminary Findings

Based on data from 20 respondents (the goal being 100 or more), data analysis is at an early stage. In-depth analysis, including analysis of critical incidents, awaits the accumulation of more data. Preliminary descriptive findings are that academic visits involve a rich variety of activities, including guest lectures, participation in forums, engaging in collaborative research, and teaching at the host institution. Shorter visits tend to be intense, whereas longer visits result in deeper and more reflective change. Personal arrangements differ depending on the length and purpose of the visits. Accommodations vary from college or university dormitories or small apartments, living with other faculty, or staying in rental apartments. The salaries of most individuals are paid by their home institutions, and a few faculty receive some compensation from the host institution.

A strong and committed contact person at the host institution greatly enhances the visitor's experience and the fruitfulness of the visit. Without such a support person, misunderstandings and occasionally painful isolation can mar the visit. The impact of visits and exchanges is often transforming for the

visitor, and sometimes also for host faculty. New experiences fuel both personal and professional changes. Due to the intensity of the experiences, strong bonds may develop between visitors and host faculty members, bonds that cross boundaries between personal and professional lives and include participation in each other's family activities. After the visitor returns home such friendships continue and stimulate ongoing professional contact including joint research projects and other scholarly activities. In a related vein, when colleagues from one institution come together to a host institution, the bonds between them are strengthened in such a way that their working relationship is improved on returning home. In a few cases faculty are more critical of their home institutions on their return after seeing "greener grass on the other side," becoming more cynical and less content.

As a result of being together in both formal and informal settings, both the visitors and the host faculty develop deeper understanding of the nature of each other's work and of the cultural-contextual factors influencing modes of working.

Although sabbatical visits by university faculty to other institutions have been the norm for some time, the ease of air travel and the speed of electronic communication is facilitating more visits by faculty from more different kinds of academic institutions, to places more distant than ever before. Faculty exchanges contribute to the sharing and development of knowledge in the global environment. It is vital that we understand the experience of visiting faculty and nurture their intellectual and cultural contributions. This requires the collection of qualitative data about this important and relatively unexplored field of inquiry. We welcome communications from colleagues who would like to participate in our research and share their sabbatical experiences.

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In Search of Aesthetic Learning Spaces

Introduction

As a teacher and parent I feel educational reforms of the last two decades have focused on objectifying specific learning outcomes resulting in much superficial rather than substantial learning. With emphasis on what may be superficial behaviors, little attention is given to assimilation, internalization, or integration of thoughts. Reading Britzman (1991) and Garrison (1995) validates the direction of my thoughts. Britzman's (1991) discussion of the structure of teaching experience that compartmentalizes knowledge, separating pedagogy from content, knowledge from interests, theory from practice, and Garrison's (1995) view of the necessity of style in teaching both point for me to the pivotal place that the *aesthetic* should hold in teaching-learning situations. Dewey (1934) states that aesthetic experience is "experience in its integrity ... experience freed from the forces that impede and confuse its development as experience" (p. 274). This is precisely the dilemma Britzman (1991) portrays of the fragmentation of experience and how that plays out in praxis. Garrison's (1995) concern with the dominant technocratic discourse and its devastation of style reiterates this. I conclude that greater aesthetic awareness is a pragmatic and philosophical necessity missing in much schooling. But, as Garrison and Britzman suggest, the existing educational structures do not support or encourage this. An aesthetic context calls for a rethinking and revaluing of what is educationally important. Perhaps, as Greene (1991) states, "it will also disclose the unexpected. Education will be viewed as if, after all, it can be otherwise" (p. xi). I am exploring such possibilities along with the concrete implications of taking aesthetic considerations seriously in a school setting. Opened in September 1997, the Creative Arts Centre, Milton Williams School, the Calgary Board of Education, has chosen to value the creating process, primary to the arts, in the school curriculum as a whole. The people involved obviously see a significance in the *aesthetic* for all learning. Thus it seems an ideal situation in which to pursue connections between curriculum theory-practice and the aesthetic.

Purpose

The Creative Art Centre's mandate is to infuse the arts into the school curriculum as a whole. They define the aesthetic as a valuing of the arts making processes as an approach to meaning making. Thus aesthetic experience is not a function of a physical object, but of the awareness that the act of creation precipitates. The purpose of my inquiry is to explore how teachers at the Creative Arts Centre create, maintain, and nurture such aesthetic learning spaces in their classrooms.

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Over the 1997-1998 academic year I explored with participating volunteers (26 students, 26 parents, and 3 teachers) how the aesthetic constituted learning experiences in particular ways. I am continuing to do this over the 1998-1999 academic year. Dialogue is the fundamental process in which meaning and understanding are evolving through individual open-ended interviews and focus groups. This is supported by artifacts indicating learning processes and development and regular classroom observations, as a means to enhance and validate insights gained through dialogue.

I am aware that themes and observations are emerging part-way through this inquiry that begin to document the aesthetic milieu being formed and reformed, initiating consideration of the significance.

Themes Emerging

Teachers and students are thinking and acting differently in regard to how learning occurs in classrooms. This is evidenced in a style of aesthetic play that permeates the observed classrooms. This is a sensitivity to the many nuances and possibilities present and a willingness to play along with them. Initiating, sustaining, and enhancing links between students and learning through aesthetic play is central in these classrooms. Gadamer's (1989) view of aesthetic play as a pattern or structure continually reconstituted by those who play along with it parallels my experiences of patterning in these classrooms. These are spaces infused and unified by pattern. These patterns appear, disappear, and reappear. I continually rediscover patterns in each classroom. In each pattern different interactive relationships are explored. But all arise from perceptions of the relation between parts and whole. These patterns are signs of dynamic activity at work. Dewey (1934) talks of common patterns in his notion of *experience,* commenting that there are conditions to be met without which aesthetic experience cannot come to be. Through being attentive to these various relations of parts to whole in these patterns, I am aware of recursive themes infused in fluctuating patterns. It is the confluence of these themes as interactive relationships that forms and reforms the patterns; always in the making. Perhaps they form the needed space (Dewey's conditions) for aesthetic play.

Attentiveness. Through close observation and given time to dwell with and in learning situations, attentiveness is a willingness on the part of teachers and students to be receptive to sensory qualities and relations.

The personal. All learning intersects with personal experience. Knowledge grows from and is a reflection of lived experience. There are many ways the world can be known.

Emotional. Learning is about discovery. The discovery is neither an object nor a concept, but rather a feeling or mental state that is personally invested with commitment.

Felt freedom. Learning needs space and freedom that encourages diversity.

Discursive. Felt freedom constructs a pattern of thought. Dialogue with self and others is crucial. The discourse entered into becomes the link to sense-making. It suggests an organization for the learning process to take.

Inquiry-guided. The organization emerges from the inquiry itself. It is always in the making. As such it requires openness to possibilities, attentive listening, and responding.

Projective. Encouraging projection means students do not plan all aspects of their learning endeavor to begin with. This promotes speculation and conjecture about possibilities.

Self-identity. Relations between self and other are continually addressed through learning activities that foster greater self-consciousness.

Observations Emerging

- All students, parents, teachers, and administration reported coming to the Creative Arts Centre searching for differences in learning.
- In attracting students and parents desiring difference, classrooms have a diverse student population.
- The centrality and importance of the teacher's place and role in affecting aesthetic considerations in the classroom is crucial.
- Classrooms need to be organized for a meeting space, large project work space, individual desk work, and greater display space.
- Resources, books, supplies, equipment, and computer work stations must be more accessible for classroom use on an as-needed basis.
- Time to connect, share ideas, be informed as to directions teachers and students are taking, and provide support in teams, is needed.
- Ongoing education of parents and the wider community is beneficial.
- Time blocks that are of a sufficient length to allow for extensive projects is a consideration; flexible time blocks to accommodate special events.
- Teachers and administration must have a common understanding of teaching in an arts-infused environment for continuity and development long term; ongoing professional development is valuable, with the emphasis being on teachers discovering more possibilities themselves for their teaching practices in an arts-infused environment.
- All staff (teachers, administration, and support) must know what is happening in classrooms in order to encourage and support creative teaching.

Summary

The Creative Arts Centre seems to be filling a need in the public education system in Calgary. Aesthetic play is the dominant teaching style. This is a continual process of connecting parts within the whole. Increasingly student thinking and work evidence greater attention to assimilation, internalization, and integration of thoughts. Knowledge is less compartmentalized, with theory and practice, and knowledge and interests, closely intertwined. This is teacher-dependent. Teachers must be confident in approaching learning in this way. A complementary physical space and scheduling structure is required to further foster and support creative teaching-learning. Aesthetic considerations in teaching-learning situations appear to honor individuality and difference through curricular diversity, multiple forms of representation, and ongoing assessment that is attentive to qualities and differences in understanding. These considerations are qualitative, personal, and value-laden and do not fit

well into existing educational and accountability frameworks. An aesthetic context appears to call for rethinking and revaluing what is educationally important. Thus a common vision of learning at the Creative Arts Centre must continually be addressed through ongoing professional development for teachers and other staff and educational opportunities for parents and the wider community.

I look forward to exploring these considerations further over the 1998-1999 academic year.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the enthusiasm and interest of the participating teachers, students, school administration, and parents of the Creative Arts Centre, Milton Williams School, the Calgary Board of Education. Their continued support and commitment to this endeavor is appreciated.

Note

This inquiry is not intended to be evaluative in any regard. The aim is to consider the significance of the aesthetic in such a school setting and how teachers create, maintain, and nurture aesthetic learning spaces in their classrooms.

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Book Reviews

Procedures of Power and Curriculum Change: Foucault and the Quest for Possibilities in Science Education. David W. Blades. New York: Peter Lang, 1997, 290 pages.

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If you have ever yearned for a worked example of postmodernism in action, this book is for you. David Blades has taken a significant educational topic—curriculum change—and by drawing on the ideas of Foucault, Heidegger, and others submitted it to a postmodern analysis. And the miracle of this book is that he has done it in a way that not only lays out clearly the basis of his analysis, but also offers the reader an accessible insight into the potential of postmodern discourse to contribute to meaningful change in education. This is a must-read for curriculum theorists, science educators, and anybody else who revels in the stimulation of new ideas lucidly explored.

Mabry (1997) made a useful distinction between what she calls *extreme or skeptical postmodernism* and *moderate or affirmative postmodernism.* Whereas the former position is pessimistic, anarchic, fatalistic, and nihilistic, the latter position "retains emphasis on the individual and unique, anguish regarding the exclusion and oppression of the different or marginal, and preference for intuitive interpretation and situated personal meanings over theory and grand explanation" (p. 7). Blades' work wrestles with the notions of extreme or skeptical postmodernism, but ultimately it comes to reflect its author's optimism by ending up securely in the camp of moderate or affirmative postmodernism.

The book evolved from his doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta and was completed during his time at the University of Saskatchewan, where he and I were colleagues. It is structured like a piece of formal music. Themes, related but different, are first presented and then allowed to interact. These themes are then developed in several ways, some of which are touched by mystery, and finally the strands are brought together once again. Some of the sounds in the piece may be unfamiliar, but the composer goes out of his way to prepare us for dissonances and to lead us through the more intellectually difficult passages.

The first theme, the need for a Science-Technology-Society (STS) science curriculum for all high school students, is laid out in Chapter 1. The history of science education from the Sputnik era to the present day is given in considerable detail; this chapter provides a useful synthesis of curriculum developments in the area. The role of technical-rational curriculum making is

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emphasized and is taken to task as wave after wave of curricular initiatives fail to bring about meaningful change.

The second chapter develops this theme through using the Alberta experience in the late 1980s and early 1990s as an example of what can go wrong in a technical-rational curriculum development process. As Blades traces the initial enthusiasm and support for STS curricula, then describes how reactionary forces gather strength to oppose the initiative, and finally recounts with sadness how a flawed compromise is reached, we develop a real picture of what was transpiring. His own participation in the process adds a delicious spice to the account. This chapter could stand alone as a powerful case study of curriculum development in the real world.

The third chapter introduces the second theme of the work: a presentation of the intellectual purpose of postmodernism. With respect for the reader's probable unfamiliarity and even fear of postmodern philosophy, Blades takes us gently into the world of Foucault. He uses the device of remembering his own initial grappling with Foucault as his legitimation for starting us right at the beginning. After all, if the author admits initial confusion, then it must be all right for the reader to do likewise. Surprisingly painlessly, we are gradually drawn into Foucault's deconstruction and sophisticated analysis of power as the "active, continuous, forceful, anonymous entrapment and definition of being" (p. 101). Blades reviews the few available studies where Foucault's insights have been applied to educational research and shows how his work adds to these insights.

Chapters 4 and 5 constitute an extended allegory that proves to be the heart of the book. This allegory of a quest in the courtly sense of a search with noble purpose is Blades' attempt to describe in a postmodern way what happened in the Alberta curriculum development situation. He weaves together and develops the two themes introduced earlier to create a kingdom with its own geography and castes and uses that to explore the "procedures of power" that were operating in Alberta. The story takes a while to get off the ground, but on the whole it succeeds on the (at least) two levels it strives for: offering an example of postmodern writing in the field of curriculum and helping us to appreciate what postmodern analysis can contribute to our understanding of curriculum development. The device of the allegory allows Blades to move characters such as Foucault, Heidegger, and Nietzsche on and off his stage and to develop useful conversations with them and with others. Readers will probably wish that some of their favorite characters had been able to make an appearance too; I know I would have been interested to hear how Habermas would have reacted to the sections on communicating.

Postmodernism does not offer a recipe for how to bring about change. Indeed the idea is the antithesis of postmodernism. So as I read toward the end of the book, I was apprehensive that it might fizzle out with a metaphorical shrug of the shoulders. However, Blades emerges from his experiences, both the real-world ones in Alberta and the more intellectual ones in his created Kingdom, with his faith in the potency of postmodernism undimmed. In the final pages he writes of his conclusion at the end of his journey: "I knew that the challenge ahead was to remain constantly in a state of critique, but critique tempered with cheerfulness that comes from the realization that in the enor-

mity of the task of change one simply has to laugh. I had no particular strategy for change in the Kingdom, I could give no workshops on change.... [My challenge was] to return to the Kingdom and critique what is so that what might be may become possible" (p. 208). In these remarks he has captured perfectly both the potential and the self-imposed limitation of the moderate or affirmative brand of postmodernism: there may be no magic solution for how to "do change," but there are certainly useful ways to expand our understanding of how change comes about.

My reservations about this book are few. Chief among them is my disappointment that Blades did not choose to explore why high school STS curricula have proven so difficult to implement anywhere they have been attempted. I do not feel that it is a sufficient explanation of this failure to blame power structures and reactionary forces. After all, other upheavals have taken place in education, but nevertheless lasting change has been introduced. Whole language learning has been assailed by many of the same forces that brought down the Alberta curricula, and yet it has managed in one form or another to withstand the attacks and become an integral component of language teaching. The only group that as a body vigorously supports STS curricula is science educators. On the whole, high school teachers, industry scientists, and university scientists do not. We need to understand the reasons behind this dichotomy; it must be due to more than just the reactionary response of power elites.

On the technical side the book has more errors and grammatical slips than I would have expected from this publisher. In one particularly unfortunate paragraph that lists some literature devoted to warnings about science, Dr. Jekyll loses an "l," Mary Shelley loses an "e," and poor H.G. Wells has *The Time Machine* assigned to his near-namesake Orson! However, these lapses do not detract seriously from the impact of this book. They can be corrected in the second edition that I confidently predict will need to be printed of this outstanding work.

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Systemic Violence in Education: Promise Broken. Juanita Epp and Ailsa Watkinson (Editors). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997, 220 pages.

Reviewed by: *Heather Blair*
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Naming an experience is central to understanding, analyzing, and deconstructing it. "Systemic violence is any institutionalized practice or procedure that adversely impacts on disadvantaged individuals or groups by burdening them psychologically, culturally, spiritually, economically or physically. It includes practices and procedures that prevent students from learning, thus harming them" (p. 190). The editors of this collection have not only named systemic violence for us, they have presented the many faces of this penetratingly pervasive phenomenon and practice. They have engaged the reader in an exploration of the violence in our educational experiences, the gendered, racist and classist nature of this violence, and the relations of power that perpetuate these practices. The four parts of this book help us to conceptualize the sites of violence, the nature of their construction, and what they mean to us as teachers, teacher educators and feminists.

Opening Part I, "Systemic Violence in Administration Practices," Watkinson's chapter provides an explicit analysis of the levels of systemic violence, sexism, racism, and classism and elucidates these with concrete examples. As an alternative she provides suggestions for creating classrooms and schools that are inhabited by a feminized ethic. Watkinson's analysis makes the implicit explicit.

Epp's chapter on authority gives the reader a way to think about how authority is realized in schools as "power over" children by teachers and administrators. She suggests that "violence is a subtext of traditional authoritarian structures and traditional pedagogical methods" (p. 25). She presents an argument for a revision of the interpretation of authority in schools and posits the feminization of school administration as an important step in reversing the inequities. She suggests that the inherently sexist and violent practices in our schools be replaced with more inclusive pedagogies and practices.

Tite, in her chapter called "Who Knows? Who Cares? Schools and Coordinated Action on Child Abuse," describes the results of a study done with 336 teachers examining what they believe constitutes child abuse and what abuse is worth reporting. She discusses the embedded gendered stratification of schools, with women teachers primarily in elementary classrooms, and the implications of these gendered perspectives on what is recognized as abuse and what is done about it. She problematizes the systemic practices of response and intervention.

In Part II, "Systemic Violence in Pedagogical Practice," Whitty introduces the gendered nature of space in a kindergarten classroom. Her article "Opening Spaces: Examining the Blocks" provides an analysis of the "no girls in the

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blocks rule." This illuminating example of the genderedness of rules that are established by children in classrooms, often invisible to teachers, shows how classroom inequities and access to opportunities with boys in a privileged position can originate. Whitty raises many questions, challenges teachers to take on these issues in their own classrooms, and suggests that "equity pedagogy" is central to turning the gendered tables. This chapter reminds the reader of the inherently sexist foundations of coeducation, which without radical changes in classroom and school practice will perpetuate the existing societal power relations.

Wason-Ellam explores how violent and aggressive play of video game heroes is simulated by a young boy through his classroom discourse. She uncovers the multiple connections between the violent forms of this popular media genre and this child's talk and text and then asks what we can do as teachers. "Do we teach children to question the prevailing social practices of the video games in a sustained critical manner or do we preserve the hegemony of the consumer market?" (p. 89). She challenges teachers to take that step and to engage in dialogue recognizing these texts as sites of violence. Wason-Ellam's explicit methodological discussion is extremely helpful to the reader in understanding the complexity of the intersections between literacy and the violence in popular media.

Ndunda's chapter "Discourses and Silences in Classroom Space" presents a personal narrative account of her experience in Canada as a black woman, parent, and international graduate student. She warns us that underlying multicultural and even some emancipatory educational practices are inherently racist and classist ideologies. She discusses the tension invoked by any attempt to move from "a site of silence to a site of intervention." Many issues are raised in this chapter that deserve serious consideration if we are to eliminate the stigma of *other* from the practices in our classrooms and find ways to address the social, political, economic, and historical dimensions that constitute the construction of *other* inside the walls of our educational institutions.

The final chapter of Part II consists of paired papers. Monteath and Cooper's "Lethal Labels: Miseducative Discourse about Educative Experiences" provides examples of how the practices of identifying and labelling students is stigmatizing and discusses the construction of a stigma as violating the individual. Rossler's "The Other Side of Labelling" presents a parent's perspective on the usefulness of labels. She delineates for us the criteria for labelling to avoid violating the individual. The dilemma of these dichotomies is further evidence of the patriarchal practices inherent in schooling.

In Part III, "Systemic Violence, Women, and Teachers," the discussion is opened by an extremely thought-provoking piece by Lisa Jadwin. This chapter resonated powerfully with me as a new academic in an extremely patriarchal educational institution. Jadwin discusses the profound dilemma we are faced with as feminists when our feminist pedagogies are limited by the patriarchal positivistic evaluation and assessment practices of our institutions and by the economic powers that make authority as obvious to her students in the rural Maritimes as it is to mine in rural Alberta. In "The Family Romance and the Student-Centered Classroom" she describes how her relationship with students falls to discord when her students realize the contractions of authority.

Her practice of feminist pedagogy is brought into question, and her authority is undermined in relation to the institutional practices of grading and assessment. She delineates for the reader her own experience and the psychological burden of the gendered nature of authority.

Sexual harassment permeates our schools and involves students, teachers, administrators, and staff. The gendered nature of the harassment, including the gendered harassment of gay and lesbian youth, go unnoticed for the most part by school administrations. Richardson's chapter contributes to this discussion by explicating how female teachers are harassed by students and then not supported by their administrations. Richardson articulates how little is done other than minimal lip service to address the boys-will-be-boys perspective prevalent in schools and argues that the inequities will remain unless serious attention is paid to changing the policies and practices of school administration. Her chapter is concerned with "how power is exercised through the institutionalized effects of particular discourses that work to displace certain experiences of female teachers in the schools, so it is necessary to examine those discursive fields which are specific to that context" (pp. 141-142). The framework for harassment used in her analysis provides both depth and breadth to understanding the intricacies and systemic nature of these forms of violence.

Warren, in her chapter "Learning from the Learning Place," presents two case studies where sexual harassment concerns voiced by female students and faculty fall on deaf ears. Warren questions the leadership in institutions of higher learning when women are silenced and the discourse is virtually turned around on the victims. Sadly she laments that it appears that "systemic violence thus successfully inoculates psyches for another generation of acceptance of harassment" (p. 158). This chapter leaves the reader wondering if the "chilly climate" in Canadian postsecondary institutions can and will ever be thawed?

Ho, Webb, and Hughson, in their chapter "Systemic Violence: Linking Women's' Stories, Education and Abuse," suggest that as curriculum stands today the knowledge of some is privileged over others and in that denial of personal experience many are denied an education. They ask for curriculum that is inclusive and politicized. They suggest that "education could be used to problematize patriarchal relations of power and authority" (p. 175).

In Part IV, "Keeping Promise," Yuzicapi's article "Personal Reconstruction: When Systemic Violence Stops" describes her experiences as a child, student, educator, and educational leader and how institutionalized racism and sexism affected her life. In her journey as an Aboriginal woman into first the processes of learning in the traditional and contemporary Aboriginal world and then as a graduate student studying liberation pedagogies in a race and gender course, Yusicapi found new lenses with which to look at racism and sexism. Her pragmatic take on ways to address these issues is thoughtful and refreshing.

Watkinson and Epp, in the final chapter "Addressing Systemic Violence in Education," remind us that the promises of equity in Canadian society and schools have not been kept; rather, they have been insidiously eroded. In this final chapter Watkinson and Epp discuss the kinds of practices and policies that result in systemic violence. They draw on many examples from this collec-

tion to support their claims and challenge teachers and administrators to take on these issues.

This collection is a worthwhile read. It fits a niche in the literature in the field as it reflects the Canadian context. The diversity of voice among the authors and the candidacy and directness reflected in their encounters contributes to the strength of the book. This wide range of perspectives challenges any superficialities of discussion of violence and forces the reader to think through the complexities and many intersections of the ideologies undergirding Canadian schools and society.

Although there is some unevenness among the chapters, the editors have crafted a space to bring the pieces together and highlight the common threads. They contend that "all students are affected by systemic violence but it is more prevalent in the lives of females, gay and lesbian students, students who are racialized, have a disability or who are economically disadvantaged" (p. 192) as demonstrated throughout the texts. There are many important insights and reminders in this collection, and I believe it would be a valuable resource for any graduate class or research project team pursuing questions of violence, race, class, and gender in education.

Index to Volume XLIV, 1998

Abrami, P.C. *The Effects of an Academic Restructuring Program on Parental Attitudes and Behaviors.* No. 1, 106-110.

Altmann, A. *Curriculum Decisions About Literature in Contemporary Classrooms: A Preliminary Analysis of a Survey of Materials Used in Edmonton Grade 10 English Courses.* No. 2, 208-220.

Anderson Ho, L. *Beyond the Benchmarks: Toward a View of Adult ESL Programming in a Literacy Framework.* No. 2, 163-172.

Aram, D. *Influence of Task Difficulty and Background Music on Working Memory Activity: Developmental Considerations.* No. 3, 342-345.

Bailey, P. *The Diverse Faces of Critical Literacy: Only Knowledge or Also Social Action?* No. 2, 120-134.

Bickmore, K. *Teacher Development for Conflict Resolution.* No. 1, 53-69.

Blair, H.A. *Indigenous Languages and Literacy: At Risk in the 21st Century.* No. 2, 242-244.

Blair, H.A. Review of *Systemic Violence in Education: Promise Broken* by Juanita Epp and Ailsa Watkinson (Eds). No. 4, 428-431.

Bisanz, G.L. *Everyday Scientific Literacy: Do Students Use Information About the Social Context and Methods of Research to Evaluate News Briefs About Science?* No. 2, 188-207.

Bisanz, J. *Everyday Scientific Literacy: Do Students Use Information About the Social Context and Methods of Research to Evaluate News Briefs About Science?* No. 2, 188-207.

Broyles, I. *Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits.* No. 4, 417-420.

Brydges, B. *District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform.* No. 4, 349-365.

Campbell, L. *Panel Discussion. Workplace Literacy: Business, Government, and Academic Perspectives.* No. 2, 232-237.

Cantwell, R.H. *Relationships Among Control Beliefs, Approaches to Learning and the Academic Performance.* No. 1, 98-102.

Chambers, B. *The Effects of an Academic Restructuring Program on Parental Attitudes and Behaviors.* No. 1, 106-110.

Cockrell, D. *Generational Variability in the Understanding and Use of Technology.* No. 1, 111-114.

Cockrell, K. *Generational Variability in the Understanding and Use of Technology.* No. 1, 111-114.

Cohen, L. *Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits.* No. 4, 417-420.

Court, D. *Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits.* No. 4, 417-420.

Derwing, T.M. *Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years.* No. 4, 383-396.

Dieleman, C. *Panel Discussion: Workplace Literacy: Business, Government, and Academic Perspectives.* No. 2, 232-237.

Ellis, J. *Mentor-Supported Literacy Development in Elementary Schools.* No. 2, 149-162.

Erickson, G.A. *Developing and Sustaining a Community of Inquiry Among Teachers and Teacher-Educators.* No. 1, 38-52.

Gibson, S. *Learning to Use the Internet: A Study of Teacher Learning Through Collaborative Research Partnerships.* No. 2, 239-241.

Gibson, S. *Addressing Instructional Technology Needs in Faculties of Education*. No. 3, 320-331.
Gierl, M.J. *Generalizability of Written-Response Scores for the Alberta Education English 30 Diploma Examination*. No. 1, 94-97.
Graham, R. *Curriculum, Identity, and Experience in Multicultural Teacher Education*. No. 4, 397-407.
Grimmett, P.P. 251 *Reconceptualizing the Practice of Teacher Preparation: On Not Throwing Out the Concurrent Model with the Reform Bathwater*. No. 3, 251-267.
Hajnal, V. *Leadership, Organizational Learning, Leadership, and Selected Factors Relating to the Institutionalization of School Improvement Initiatives*. No. 1, 70-89.
Hannay, L. *District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform*. No. 4, 349-365.
Harris, E.L. *Generational Variability in the Understanding and Use of Technology*. No. 1, 111-114.
Hart, D. *The "Crisis" of Confidence in Schools and the Neoconservative Agenda: Diverging Opinions of Corporate Executives and the General Public*. No. 1, 1-19.
Hart, S. *Mentor-Supported Literacy Development in Elementary Schools*. No. 2, 149-162.
Hayden, K.A. *The Diverse Faces of Critical Literacy: Only Knowledge or Also Social Action?* No. 2, 120-134.
Hayden, R. *Community Service Providers as Literacy Facilitators: A Pilot Project*. No. 2, 135-148.
Horne, T. *The Wholeness of the Individual: Linking Literacy and Health through Participatory Education*. No. 2, 245-247.
Howe, N. *The Effects of an Academic Restructuring Program on Parental Attitudes and Behaviors*. No. 1, 103-107.
Hunsberger, M. *The Diverse Faces of Critical Literacy: Only Knowledge or Also Social Action?* No. 2, 120-134.
Jamieson, K. *Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years*. No. 4, 383-396.
Johnson, E.A. *Effects of Peer Mediation Training in Junior High School on Mediators' Conflict Resolution Attitudes and Abilities in High School*. No. 3, 339-341.
Johnston, I. *Curriculum Decisions About Literature in Contemporary Classrooms: A Preliminary Analysis of a Survey of Materials Used in Edmonton Grade 10 English Courses*. No. 2, 208-220.
Kaniel, S. *Influence of Task Difficulty and Background Music on Working Memory Activity: Developmental Considerations*. No. 3, 342-345.
Krahn, H. *Panel Discussion: Workplace Literacy: Business, Government, and Academic Perspectives*. No. 2, 232-237.
Krochak, D. *Effects of Peer Mediation Training in Junior High School on Mediators' Conflict Resolution Attitudes and Abilities in High School*. No. 3, 339-341.
LaRocque, L.J. *Year-Round Schooling: A Catalyst for Pedagogical Change*. No. 4, 366-382.
Leseho, J. *Educators' Use of Metaphors to Deal with Anger in the Schools*. No. 3, 336-338.
Levin, B. *International Educational Reform: From Proposals to Results*. No. 1, 91-93.
Livingstone, D.W. *The "Crisis" of Confidence in Schools and the Neoconservative Agenda: Diverging Opinions of Corporate Executives and the General Public*. No. 1, 1-19.
Lund, D.E. *Seeking Ethnocultural Equity Through Teacher Education: Reforming University Preservice Programs*. No. 3, 268-283.
Macintyre Latta, M. *In Search of Aesthetic Learning Spaces*. No. 4, 420-424.

Mackey, M. *Curriculum Decisions About Literature in Contemporary Classrooms: A Preliminary Analysis of a Survey of Materials Used in Edmonton Grade 10 English Courses.* No. 2, 208-220.
Malicky. G. *Literacy in the 21st Century: Introduction.* No. 2, 119.
Malicky, G. *Panel Discussion: Workplace Literacy: Business, Government, and Academic Perspectives.* No. 2, 232-237.
McClay, J.K. *Becoming a Teacher of Writing: Living Between and on the Lines.* No. 2, 173-187.
McEwen, N. *Satisfaction with Education in Alberta.* No. 1, 20-37.
Michael, O. *Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits.* No. 4, 417-420.
Minnes Brandes, G. *Developing and Sustaining a Community of Inquiry Among Teachers and Teacher-Educators.* No. 1, 38-52.
Moore, P.J. *Relationships Among Control Beliefs, Approaches to Learning and the Academic Performance of Final-Year Nurses.* No. 1, 98-102.
Mueller, A. *Creating "Spaces of Inquiry": Participation in Elementary School Science.* No. 3, 333-335.
Munro, M.J. *Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years.* No. 4, 383-396.
Nocente, N. *Addressing Instructional Technology Needs in Faculties of Education.* No. 3, 320-331.
Norman, C.A. *Differences in Word Recognition Based on Approach to Reading Instruction.* No. 2, 221-230.
Norton, M. *Literacy in the 21st Century: Introduction.* No. 2, 119.
Norton, M. *The Wholeness of the Individual: Linking Literacy and Health through Participatory Education.* No. 2, 245-247.
Oberg, D. *Learning to Use the Internet: A Study of Teacher Learning Through Collaborative Research Partnerships.* No. 2, 239-241.
Ross, J.A. *District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform.* No. 4, 349-365.
Ryan, A.G. Review of *Procedures of Power and Curriculum Change: Foucault and the Quest for Possibilities in Science Education* by David W. Blades. No. 4, 425-427.
Ryan, J. *Understanding Racial/Ethnic Stereotyping in Schools: From Image to Discourse.* No. 3, 284-301.
Sackney, L. *Leadership, Organizational Learning, Leadership, and Selected Factors Relating to the Institutionalization of School Improvement Initiatives.* No. 1, 70-89.
Sanders, M. *Community Service Providers as Literacy Facilitators: A Pilot Project.* No. 2, 135-148.
Shields, C.M. *Year-Round Schooling: A Catalyst for Pedagogical Change.* No. 4, 366-382.
Small-McGinley, J. *Mentor-Supported Literacy Development in Elementary Schools.* No. 2, 149-162.
Smits, H. Review of *Interpreting Teacher Practice ... Two Continuing Stories* by Renate Schulz. No. 1, 115-118.
Spenciner, L. *Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits.* No. 4, 417-420.
Thomas, D. *Effects of Peer Mediation Training in Junior High School on Mediators' Conflict Resolution Attitudes and Abilities in High School.* No. 3, 339-341.
Tram, J.M.D. *Questions in a Research Setting.* No. 4, 408-415.
Varnhagen, C.K. *Questions in a Research Setting.* No. 4, 408-415.

Virley O'Connor, B.J. *A Preliminary Examination of the Effects of Gender-Biased Language on Children's Imagery.* No. 1, 103-105.
Walker, K. *Leadership, Organizational Learning, Leadership, and Selected Factors Relating to the Institutionalization of School Improvement Initiatives.* No. 1, 70-89.
Walsh-Bowers, R. *A Preliminary Examination of the Effects of Gender-Biased Language on Children's Imagery.* No. 1, 103-105.
Wignall, R. *Challenges for Interpretivist Inquiry.* No. 3, 302-319.
Wilson, K. *Differences in Word Recognition Based on Approach to Reading Instruction.* No. 2, 221-230.
Wong, B. *Panel Discussion: Workplace Literacy: Business, Government, and Academic Perspectives.* No. 2, 232-237.
Young, B. *A Note from the Editor: Plans for 1998.* No. 1, i.
Young, B. *Editorial: Moving On, Carrying On.* No. 3, 249-250.
Young, J. *International Educational Reform: From Proposals to Results.* No. 1, 91-13.
Young, J. *Curriculum, Identity, and Experience in Multicultural Teacher Education.* No. 4, 397-407.
Zimmerman, C. *Everyday Scientific Literacy: Do Students Use Information About the Social Context and Methods of Research to Evaluate News Briefs About Science?* No. 2, 188-207.

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Contents

Julia Ellis 347 From the Editor

Articles

John A. Ross, Lynne Hannay, Bruce Brydges 349 District-Level Support for Site-Based Renewal: A Case Study of Secondary School Reform

Carolyn M. Shields, Linda J. LaRocque 366 Year-Round Schooling: A Catalyst for Pedagogical Change

Tracey M. Derwing, Kama Jamieson, Murray J. Munro 383 Citizenship Education for Adult Immigrants: Changes Over the Last Ten Years

Roy Graham, Jon Young 397 Curriculum, Identity, and Experience in Multicultural Teacher Education

Jane My Duc Tram, Connie K. Varnhagen 408 Questions in a Research Setting

Research Notes 416 Guidelines

Deborah Court, Libby Cohen, Orly Michael, India Broyles, Loraine Spenciner 417 Personal and Professional Experiences in Academic Exchanges and Visits

Margaret Macintyre Latta 421 In Search of Aesthetic Learning Spaces

Book Reviews

Alan G. Ryan 425 *Procedures of Power and Curriculum Change: Foucault and the Quest for Possibilities in Science Education* by David W. Blades

Heather Blair 428 *Systemic Violence in Education: Promise Broken* edited by Juanita Epp and Ailsa Watkinson

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